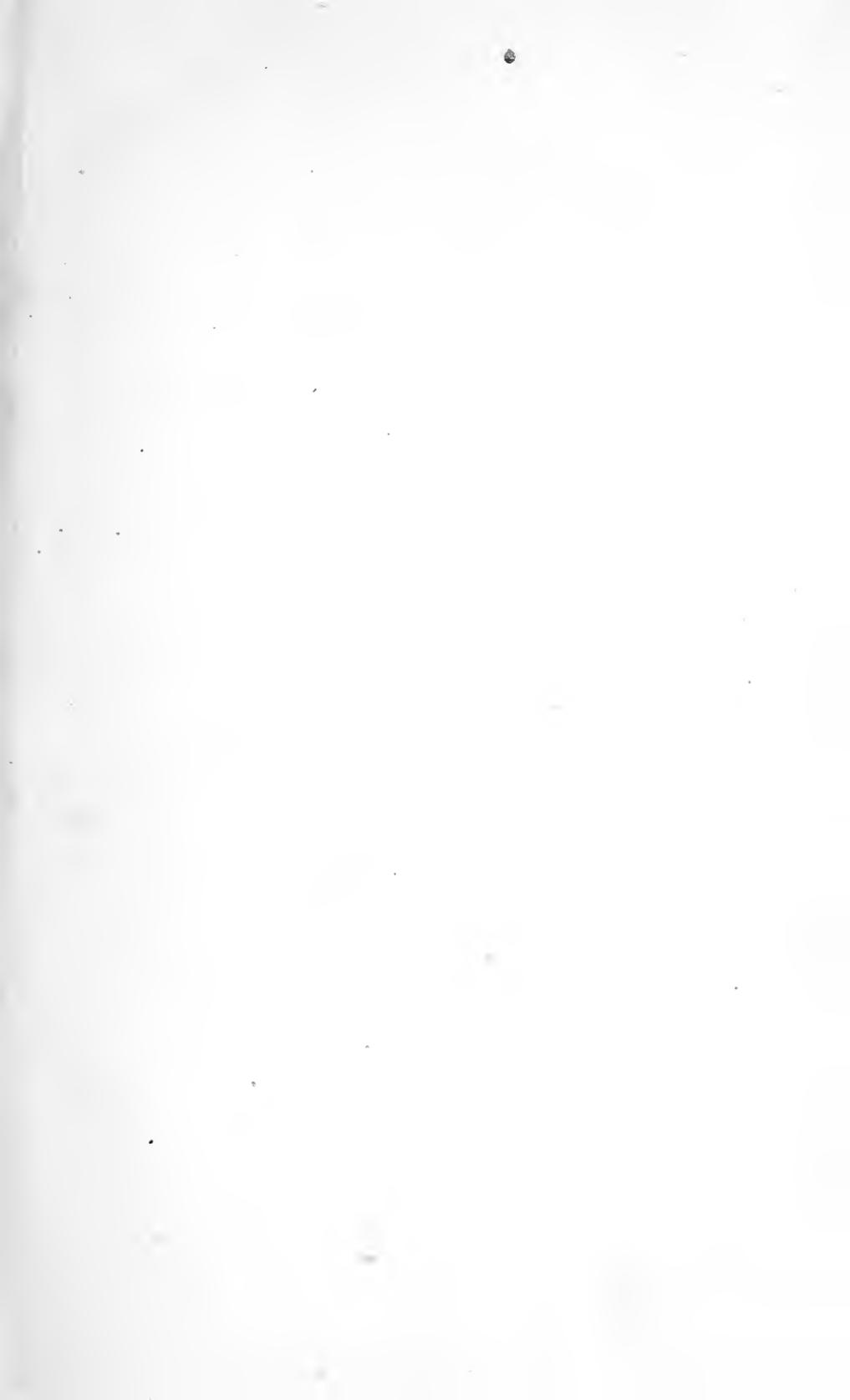




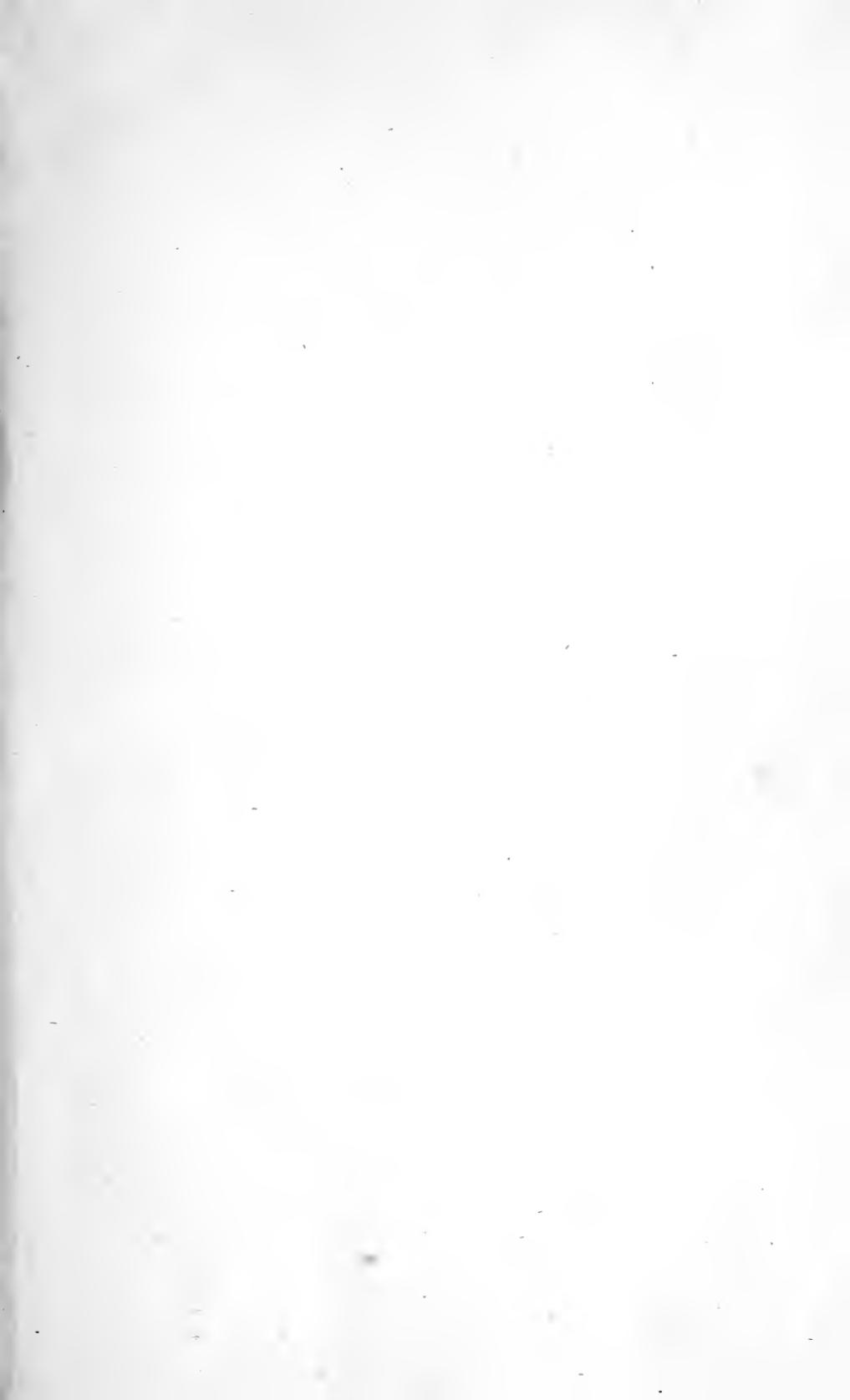


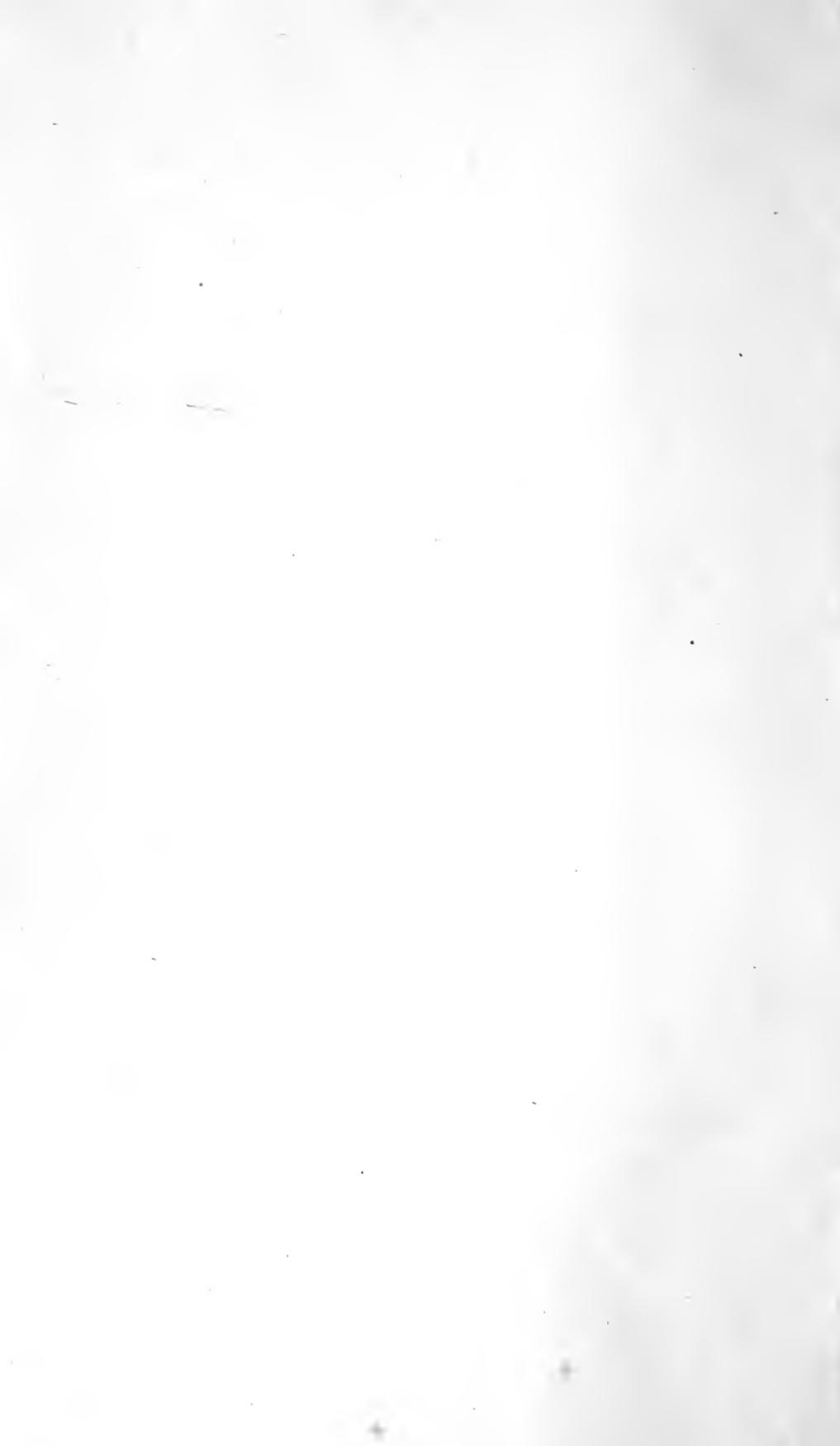
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# THE LIFE

OF

## GILBERT MOTIER DE LAFAYETTE,

A MARQUIS OF FRANCE; A GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS; THE COMPATRIOT AND FRIEND OF WASHINGTON; THE CHAMPION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, AND OF THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF MANKIND.

FROM NUMEROUS AND AUTHENTICK SOURCES.

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BY EBEN<sup>R.</sup> MACK.

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“The History of the World is the Biography of Great Men.”  
*Carlyle.*

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ITHACA, N. Y.;

MACK, ANDRUS, & WOODRUFF.

1841.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1841, by MACK,  
ANDRUS, & WOODRUFF, in the Clerk's Office of the Northern District  
of New York.

5114

Deposited Oct. 29. 1841

## P R E F A C E.

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IN reading and reflecting upon the history of the past, and contemplating the lives of those illustrious men to whom this country is indebted for its freedom, it has occurred to me, that the services and character of LAFAYETTE are not fully appreciated by the American people. But how should they be appreciated, unless they are known? The name of LAFAYETTE is familiar, and is cherished in popular tradition, as honourably connected with our revolutionary struggle. The materials for a more intimate knowledge of him are scattered through many voluminous collections of publick documents, and works of History and Biography. He has been incidentally and favourably noticed by several American, French, and English authors. Memoirs and sketches of his life have been compiled and published—most of them hastily devised and executed for some special occasion, and comprising only particular periods of his eventful career. But there seems at this time to be wanted a connected narrative of the events of LAFAYETTE's *whole life*, from his birth to his death—embracing his publick services, military and civil, in America and France; as the hero of three revolutions; the victim of despotism in the prison of Olmatz; the restorer of liberty in the “three glorious days of July;” his domestick history and habits; his publick and private character—in such a plain, economical form, as will bring it within the means of all classes of readers to purchase, to peruse, and to comprehend. To supply this deficiency, is the object of the present volume. Although written in haste, amidst other cares and avocations, since the commencement of January last, the task has not been accomplished without considerable labour, investigation and reflection. In the progress of it, the following works have been consulted, viz:—The Life and Writings of Washington, by Mr. Sparks; the Life of Governeur Morris, by the same; Mar-

shall's Life of Washington ; Botta's History of the American Revolution ; Thatcher's Journal ; Lee's Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department ; Life of Arthur Lee ; Franklin's Works ; Jefferson's do. ; the Madison Papers ; the Lives of Hamilton, Gerry, Patrick Henry, Paul Jones, &c. &c. ; Crowe's History of France ; Thier's French Revolution, Mignet's do. ; Carlyle's do. ; Scott's Napoleon ; Recollections of Mirabeau ; Dumas' Memoirs ; Chastellux's Travels ; Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts of Lafayette, published by his family ; Sarran's Memoirs of Lafayette and the Revolution of 1830 ; Holstein's Memoirs of Lafayette ; Levasseur's Lafayette in America ; Cloquet's Private Life of Lafayette ; Carter's Letters from Europe ; Lady Morgan's France ; with many other biographical sketches, books of travel, historical essays, newspaper files, &c. &c.—comprising in all not less than one hundred volumes.

From these numerous sources I have endeavoured to cull the most interesting facts ; to reconcile and correct their discrepancies and contradictions ; and to weave from the materials thus gathered, a faithful narrative of the life and character of **LAFAYETTE**, with a strict regard to truth and justice, and to correct chronological and historical order. To state in each instance to which author I may be indebted for an incident, a thought, or a narrative sentence, would be impracticable. Where I am deserving of credit, for originality of arrangement, of diction or of sentiment, the reader will award it : where I am not, that credit will be withheld, or awarded to others. I have no pride or ambition of authorship. I claim no merit for this volume, except that of a faithful compilation :—And what else is all History—all Biography ? If this work shall be deemed worthy to rank with the useful publications of the day—if it shall contribute to elevate the taste and sentiments of the American people, and increase in them the desire of investigating the history and biography of their own country ; and if it shall lead them justly to appreciate the services and merits of one to whom they are so much indebted for the privileges they enjoy—my object will be attained—I shall be amply rewarded.

*Ithaca, July, 1841.*

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THE  
LIFE OF LAFAYETTE.

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CHAPTER I.

Lafayette—His ancestors—His Father : death of, at Minden—Historical discrepancies relative thereto—Lafayette's posthumous birth—Proud title and wealthy inheritance—Chevaniac, the place of his nativity—His infancy and childhood—Delicate constitution—Strong intellectual powers—His education—Death of his Mother and Grandfather—Becomes a favourite at Court—Is appointed one of the queen's pages, and a commissioned officer in the king's regiment—Marries at the age of sixteen—His wife's family—Her amiable and noble character—Lafayette's love of liberty, early and innate—A poor courtier—Refuses a place—Was prepared to espouse the American revolution.

THE subject of this memoir is known to the civilized world, and will continue to be known through future ages, by the simple appellation of *Lafayette*. His history presents an example unparalleled, of pure philanthropy, of disinterested patriotism, and of faithful devotion to the cause of human liberty. Man has been termed “the creature of circumstance.” To the perceptions of finite reason, his destiny is indeed controlled, in a great measure, by the chances of birth and fortune.

“O, who can tell, how many a soul sublime  
Has felt the influence of malignant star,  
And waged with Fortune an eternal war;  
In life's low vale remote has pined alone,  
Then dropt into the grave, unpitied and unknown.”

But it is permitted to man to overcome, by mental and physical energies, the apparent influences of his destiny; and few have been distinguished as truly good or great, who have not risen superior to the circumstances by which they were surrounded. Obscurity of birth, the chilling hand

of poverty, hang heavy upon the spirit, and often weigh down the most persevering efforts, even in this enlightened age and country. But it is much easier to surmount these, than to rise above the enervating and corrupting influences of aristocratick birth and wealthy inheritance.

Of the ancestors of Lafayette, and of his infancy, there are few historical records. We know, however, that he sprung from a family, boasting a long descent of French nobility; that he was literally born to a distinguished title and to a wealthy inheritance; and that he was, at the most voluptuous period of French history, nursed in the lap of luxury and indulgence. It is recorded that, "in the fourteenth century, the Lafayettes, in the province of Auvergne, already exerted themselves to improve the condition of those who were then called vassals;" and that, "in the fifteenth century, Marshal de Lafayette expelled the enemy from the territory of France." In the female line, two of Lafayette's ancestors are distinguished in history. The first of these was *Louisa de Lafayette*, who lived in the sixteenth century. She was maid of honour to Anne of Austria, the young and persecuted queen of Louis XIII, of France; and became the confidante and friend of that timid monarch. But when he ventured to hint a dishonourable proposal, she retired to a convent. At subsequent interviews, however, she, in concert with his confessor, warned the king against the enemies of his political power and domestick peace; and, notwithstanding the subtle craft of Cardinal Richelieu, her pious and generous voice held its influence, and succeeded in reconciling the monarch to his queen. *Marie Madeline, Countess Lafayette*, is favourably known in the literary annals of France. She was married to the Count de Lafayette, in 1665, and died in 1693.—Her principal works are "Zaide," many times reprinted, and "La Princesse de Cleves," to which Fontenelle is said to have given four readings. A high compliment is also paid to her genius by Voltaire. She had only one child, a daughter, who became Madame de la Tremoille, and heiress to the property of the Lafayette family, which she generously restored to the male line of the family, her cousins, who inhabited the province of Auvergne, in which the estate was situated.

The father of our hero, Michael-Louis-Christophe-Roch-Gilbert de Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, colonel of the

Grenadiers of France, and Chevalier de St. Louis, was among the brave and gallant spirits of his time, and fell, at the early age of twenty-five years, in the military service of his country. He was killed at Minden, in Germany, during the general European war, in which Frederick the Great of Prussia acquired fame as a warriour, (1756-7, &c.), leaving our hero, Marie-Paul-Joseph-Roche-Yves Gilbert Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, (giving in full the name and title which he inherited), his sole descendent, to render the family name immortal.

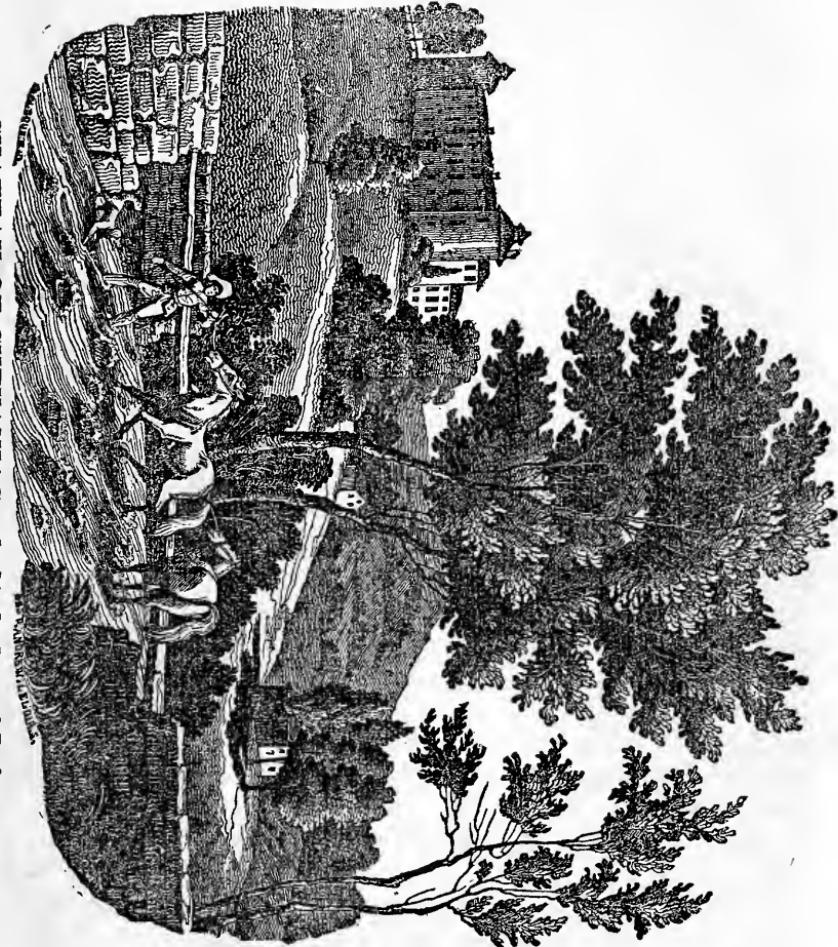
There is a contradiction, or rather a want of chronological precision, among historians, and those who have heretofore attempted biographical sketches of Lafayette, as respects the date of the father's death, and, consequently, the period of the son's birth, which it may be well here to notice.—Truth alone is history ; and he who undertakes the responsible office of transmitting its records to posterity, should aim to be correct in the minutest particular.

During the war in Germany, Minden, which was a walled and fortified town, was first taken by the French, under generals Broglie and Chevert, July 13th, 1757. It was recaptured by the combined English and Hanoverian army, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, on the 14th of March, 1758. The year following, June, 1759, the Duke de Broglie again took Minden by assault, and the main body of the French army, soon after advancing to Minden, took up a strong position resting upon that town. By successful manœuvring, the combined English, Prussian, and Hanoverian forces, under Prince Ferdinand, brought on a general engagement, in which the French were defeated, and Minden was next day surrendered to the allied army. It is this latter engagement, the most important of the three actions, which is distinguished in history and chronology, as “The Battle of Minden.”—And Crowe states, in his History of France, 2d vol., p. 190—that among the French colonels slain in this affair, “was the Marquis de Lafayette, a noble of an ancient family. He left his marchioness, a lady of the house of Lusignan, pregnant. This posthumous child is the Lafayette of the revolution, and of the present day.” The American editor of the “Memoirs, &c. of Lafayette, published by his family,” states also in a note, p. 2, the father of Lafayette was “killed at the battle of Minden.” He himself,

in the same Memoir and page, says, it is “ too minute to dwell upon the particulars of my birth, which *soon followed* the death of my father at Minden. All his biographers, however, agree, and it corresponds with the dates of subsequent events, mentioned by himself, and with the inscription upon his tomb at Paris, in fixing his birth on the 6th of September, 1757. His father, therefore, must have fallen, not at the “Battle of Minden,” but at the first capture of that fortress, in July, 1757 ; and, his birth soon following that event, he was cast fatherless upon the world, the vested heir of a proud title and rich estates, and surrounded by temptations and influences little calculated to produce a premature and persevering champion in the cause of liberty and virtue.

The birthplace of Lafayette, was the Chateau of Chavagnac, (or Chevaniac,) situated in the then Province of Auvergne, but now in the department of the Haute Loire, the canton of Paulhoquet, and the arrondissement of Brionde. It is about 120 leagues from Paris. The building is large, romantically situated, venerable in appearance, but cannot be called ancient, having been destroyed by fire and rebuilt in 1701. The estate attached to it once comprised an extensive and considerable property ; but was confiscated and partitioned during the French revolution, and the chateau itself, and a portion of the estate, was afterwards purchased back by a relative of Lafayette, and is now the property of his family. Every thing connected with the being of Lafayette must be interesting to American readers. But, could we transport them to the old chateau, (of which a view is here presented,) they would find little with which his name, in its early or mature relations, could be associated. They could not ascertain even the room in which the eyes of the heroick defender of liberty in two hemispheres, first opened upon the light of day ; for this his own son has not been able to ascertain ; nor could those who have diligently sought for such associations, discover any object about the place, which might serve as a memento of his early days, except a portrait of him taken at the age of nine or ten years.

Few were the years which the young Lafayette passed at the place of his nativity ; nor were those distinguished by peculiar events, or even by the usual attendants of a happy and buoyant childhood. He was, according to his relative, Count Segur, a sickly infant, giving no promise of those



CHATEAU OF CHEVANIAC—*the birth-place of Lafayette.*



constitutional energies which were afterwards exemplified during the arduous duties and fatigues of a long and eventful life.—His intellectual powers, however, were early and strongly developed : for it may be said that he was a man while yet a child ; and was found exercising the faculties of mature years, at a period when others have scarce passed the boundary which divides youth from infancy. He was educated, as he himself states, in Auvergne, "with tender and revered relations," until the age of twelve years, when he was removed to a college (du Plessis) at Paris. There, soon after, April 12th, 1770, his mother died ; and her death was in a few days followed by that of her father, the Marquis de la Reviere. By their deaths, the young collegian became the heir to great wealth, which was entirely at his own control. He was, thus early, a favourite at the Court of Louis le Grand. He was one of the queen's pages ; and became a member of the king's regiment of musqueteers, (*Musquetaires du Roi*), in which, at the age of fifteen years, through the immediate patronage of the queen, he was promoted to the rank of a commissioned officer, a favour exclusively reserved for the sons of the most distinguished noblemen. His military duties, he states, only interrupted his studies on review days ; and at this period he was for a short time a resident at the Academy of Versailles. With an education thus hastily snatched from the duties and temptations of a profligate court, it could not be expected that Lafayette should become distinguished for profound scholarship. Literary and scientifick attainments, therefore, constitute a small portion of the elements of his fame.

In April, 1774, Lafayette, then a little more then sixteen years of age, was married to the young and interesting Countess Anastasie de Noailles, daughter of the duke of that name. This marriage is represented to have been induced by considerations of family interest ; but that it was also a marriage of affection, there is explicit and gratifying evidence upon record. True, it connected Lafayette with a numerous and influential family, and largely augmented his fortune, which, after his marriage, produced him an annual income of 200.000 francs, about \$37,500, per annum. But these were petty considerations, compared with the treasure he secured in an amiable and virtuous wife—a noble-hearted woman, who, in the vicissitudes of his sub-

sequent career, participated patiently in his misfortunes, shared his imprisonment, and emulated his virtuous and patriotic examples ; and whose fame must be ever identified with that of the man with whom her earthly destinies were united.

The possession of wealth, the allurements of the court, the flattery of friends and dependents, could not obliterate in the bosom of Lafayette, the love of liberty and virtue with which he seems to have been early inspired. The principle, innate or acquired, must have been deeply and strongly rooted which could have withstood such temptations.

He represents himself as being ill calculated to obtain the favour of the society in which he moved ; that his habitual silence, when he did not think the subjects discussing worthy of being canvassed ; his observing disposition, simplicity of manners, and independence of mind, "rendered it impossible for him to bend to the graces of the court, or to the charms of a supper in the capital." " You ask me, (he says,) at what period I first experienced my ardent love of liberty and glory ? I recollect no time of life anterior to my enthusiasm for anecdotes of glorious deeds, and to my projects of travelling over the world to acquire fame. At eight years of age, my heart beat when I heard of an hyena that had done some injury, and caused still more alarm, in our neighbourhood, and the hope of meeting it was the object of all my walks. When I arrived at college, nothing ever interrupted my studies, except my ardent wish of studying without restraint. I never deserved to be chastised ; but in spite of my usual gentleness, it would have been dangerous to have attempted to do so ; and I recollect with pleasure that, when I was to describe in rhetorick a perfect courser, I sacrificed the hope of obtaining a premium, and described the one who, on perceiving the whip, threw down his rider. Republican anecdotes always delighted me, and when my new connexions wished to obtain for me a place at court, I did not hesitate displeasing them to preserve my independence."

The place here alluded to was one in the household of the Count de Provence (afterwards Louis XVIII,) who was rather solicitous on the subject. Lafayette, who never manifested very great respect for royal blood, took a ludicrous

method of silencing these importunities. Having met the count at a masquerade ball, he recognized him under his mask; and in a conversation, during which the count endeavoured to display his memory to advantage, Lafayette remarked, that "it was unnecessary to take so much trouble to prove, that memory was the wit of fools." The count afterwards ascertaining that Lafayette knew him, notwithstanding his mask, at the time this remark was made, came to the conclusion that the young marquis would not make a very obsequious follower, and nothing more was said about attaching him to his person.

At this period, also, Lafayette was the member of an association of young men, in which the principles of civil liberty were discussed. When, therefore, the dawn of the American revolution burst upon the astonished eyes of Europe, Lafayette was prepared to become its open advocate, as he soon after became its active partisan.

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## CHAPTER II.

Commencement of the American Revolution—Its high character and objects—Lafayette among the first to espouse its cause—Origin of that intention—Resolves to go to America—Opposition of family and friends—Interview with Mr. Deane—Secret preparations—Mr. Deane's written stipulation—News of American disasters—their effects—Franklin and Deane dissuade Lafayette—His perseverance and confidence—Prepares to purchase and equip a vessel—Opposition of the French government—Vigilance of the British envoy—evades it—Corresponds with Franklin and Deane—Visit to England—Distinguished reception—Openly avows his sentiments—Hastily returns to Paris—Prepares to depart for America—Government interference—His arrest ordered—Trying crisis—Proceeds in disguise—Pursued—Recognized by a young girl—His secret kept—Reaches Passage in safety.

THE resistance of the British colonies in America to the oppressive acts of the mother country, was the commencement of a new and important era in the history of nations. Governments had been long accustomed to regard the governed in the light of dependants, and to tyrannize over them with impunity; and the farther the victims were removed from the seat of power, the more inveterate and astringent

were the measures of coercion exercised towards them, and the more passive and unresisting had they remained.—Rebellions were not unfrequent ; but they were the outbreaks of passion, rather than the offspring of virtuous indignation ; and the offenders were speedily scourged back to subserviency or despair. Revolutions there were ; but they aimed not at the subversion of unjust power—they sought and accomplished only the exchange of one tyrant, or set of tyrants, for another. The American revolution first presented to the world the sublime spectacle of a virtuous people fearlessly contending for virtuous principles. The inalienable rights of man, were clearly and boldly defined. Liberty was proclaimed in reason, and not in licentiousness. The olive branch and the sword were both held out by the oppressed to their oppressors ; and a declaration to meet death rather than submit to slavery, was sealed with the sacrifice of blood. An effort so bold and daring, and yet so just, was well calculated to excite the apprehension of despots, the sympathy of the virtuous, and the admiration of all men.

Lafayette was among the first in Europe to espouse the cause of the Americans. He waited not to calculate or to ascertain their chances of success. “When I first learnt the subject of this quarrel, (says he,) my heart espoused warmly the cause of liberty, and I thought of nothing but of adding also the aid of my banner.” His design of going to America, and offering his personal services in the army, is stated by Mr. Sparks, who doubtless derived the fact from Lafayette himself, to have originated in the following manner :

“In the summer of 1776, (says Mr. Sparks, *The Writings of Washington*, Vol. V, Appendix No. 1, p. 445,) M. de Lafayette was stationed on military duty at Metz, being then an officer in the French army. It happened at this time that the Duke of Gloucester, brother to the King of England, was at Metz, and a dinner was given to him by the commandant of that place. Several officers were invited, and among others Lafayette. Despatches had just been received by the duke from England, and he made their contents the topick of conversation ; they related to American affairs, the recent declaration of independence, the resistance of the colonists, and the strong measures adopted by the ministry to crush the rebellion.

"The details were new to Lafayette; he listened with eagerness to the conversation, and prolonged it by asking questions of the duke. His curiosity was deeply excited by what he heard, and the idea of a people fighting for liberty had a strong influence upon his imagination; the cause seemed to him just and noble, from the representations of the duke himself; and before he left the table, the thought came into his head that he would go to America, and offer his services to a people who were struggling for freedom and independence. From that hour he could think of nothing but this chivalrous enterprise. He resolved to return to Paris and make further inquiries."

To his determination thus formed, Lafayette had reason to apprehend the opposition of his family and friends. His inquiries and preparations were therefore made with the utmost secrecy. Among those to whom he confided his intentions, was his relative the Count de Broglie, and M. du Bois-martin, secretary to the count. The latter person at once approved of his conduct, and afterwards rendered him important assistance. The count, however, used every argument to dissuade him from this enterprise. "I have seen," said he, "your uncle die in the wars of Italy; I witnessed your father's death at the battle of Minden; and I will not be accessory to the ruin of the only remaining branch of the family." But, contrary to the authority of Mr. Sparks, Lafayette himself says, that the count's "affectionate heart, when all his efforts to turn me from this project had proved vain, entered into my views with even paternal tenderness."

Mr. Silas Deane was at this time in Paris, commissioned to act, with rather indefinite authority, by the American Congress. The French government feared and refused to recognize him in any official capacity. Through the Baron de Kalb, with whom a sympathy of feelings and design had brought him acquainted, Lafayette was introduced to Mr. Deane. "When," says he, "I presented to Mr. Deane my boyish face, (for I was scarcely nineteen years of age,) I spoke more of my ardour in the cause than of my experience; but I dwelt much upon the effect my departure would excite in France, and he signed our mutual agreement. The secrecy (he adds) with which this negotiation and my preparations were made, appears almost a miracle: family,

friends, ministers, French spies and English spies, all were kept completely in the dark as to my intentions."

The written stipulation, signed by Mr. Deane, so creditable to both parties, and so highly important, as the first step in securing the services of Lafayette, and eventually the alliance of the French government, to the American cause, was in the following words :

' The desire, which the Marquis de Lafayette shows of serving among the troops of the United States of North America, and the interest which he takes in the justice of their cause, make him wish to distinguish himself in this war, and to render himself as useful as he possibly can. But not thinking that he can obtain leave of his family to pass the seas and to serve in a foreign country, till he can go as a general officer, I have thought I could not better serve my country, and those who have intrusted me, than by granting to him, in the name of the very honourable Congress, the rank of Major-General, which I beg the states to confirm and ratify to him, and to deliver him the commission to hold and take rank from this day with the general officers of the same degree. His high birth, his alliances, the great dignities which his family holds at this court, his considerable estates in this realm, his personal merit, his reputation, his disinterestedness, and above all, his zeal for the liberty of our provinces are such, as to induce me alone to promise him the rank of Major-General, in the name of the United States. In witness of which, I have signed the present this 7th day of December, 1776.

SILAS DEANE.'

Preparations were making to despatch a vessel to America, with arms and other military supplies for the army, in which Lafayette was to take passage. But news, disastrous to the American cause, put a stop to these preparations. The American army had been obliged to evacuate Long Island, and the city of New York. Fort Washington had been surrendered to the British forces ; and the brave band of American heroes were compelled to retreat across the Jerseys, amidst intense privations and sufferings, before the victorious forces of British and Hessians. The last hope of Liberty appeared about to be extinguished. At least such was the general impression in France. To obtain a vessel, or to raise money, had become impossible. Doct. Franklin and Arthur Lee, who had become associated with Mr. Deane, with more ample and definite powers, now united in persuading Lafayette to abandon his project. But the young hero was not to be dissuaded from his patriotick and glorious purpose. The kindred spirits of Washington and Lafay-

ette, though separated by a wide ocean, sympathised in this dark hour. Their bosoms swelled with the love of liberty, and their courage rose under the pressure of adverse circumstances. They despaired not of the American cause, but simultaneously expressed a confidence in its ultimate triumph. "I called," says Lafayette, "upon Mr. Deane, and I thanked him for his frankness. 'Until now, sir,' said I, 'you have only seen my ardour in your cause, and that may not prove at present wholly useless. I shall purchase a ship to carry out your officers; we must feel confidence in the future, and it is especially in the hour of danger that I wish to share your fortune.'"

This noble and generous proposition was of course acceded to by the American commissioners; and Lafayette immediately took measures to raise the money and to purchase and arm a vessel, entirely at his own expense. It was necessary, however, to preserve the utmost secrecy in these operations. The French government was less inclined than ever to compromise itself with England, by appearing to aid or countenance her revolted colonies; and the British minister at the French court, kept a vigilant eye, not only upon the government itself, but upon the movements of the American commissioners and all those who were supposed to be friendly to the American cause. Lafayette had contemplated a journey to England, in company with the Prince de Poix. The French government, for diplomatick reasons, had encouraged this visit. The time, partially fixed upon for it, was at hand. Lest his refusal should excite suspicions, and the better to conceal the preparations that were making to repair and equip his vessel destined for America, he deemed it expedient to comply with the engagement. The expediency of the movement was also concurred in by Doct. Franklin and Mr. Deane, whom, at that time, Lafayette did not venture to visit at their residence, but with whom, he says, "he corresponded, through M. Carmichael, an American less generally known."

On arriving in London with his companion, Lafayette, true to the feelings of his heart, as he himself states, "*first paid his respects to Bancroft, the American, and afterwards to his British majesty.*" The young visitors, being of noble blood, were treated with great distinction, by the titled partisans of the English ministry. For this treatment,

they were doubtless as much indebted to diplomatick considerations as to the spirit of English hospitality. It was an object, at that crisis, to keep up at least the appearance of amicable relations between the two governments. Lafayette, therefore, accepted of these civilities, "dancing at the house of Lord Germain, minister for the English colonies, and at the house of Lord Rawdon, who had just returned from New York, and seeing at the opera that Clinton whom he was afterwards to meet at Monmouth." But he disavows all duplicity of action or design. "Whilst I concealed my intentions" (as to going to America, he says,) "I openly avowed my sentiments; I often defended the Americans; I rejoiced at their success at Trenton; and my spirit of opposition obtained for me an invitation to breakfast with Lord Shelburne. I refused the offers made me to visit the seaports, the vessels fitting out against the *rebels*, and everything that might be construed into an abuse of confidence. At the end of three weeks, when it became necessary for me to return home, whilst refusing my uncle, the ambassador, to accompany him to court, I confided to him my strong desire to take a trip to Paris. He proposed saying that I was ill during my absence. I should not have made use of this stratagem myself, but I did not object to his doing so."

Anxious to depart for America, Lafayette thus cut short his visit in England, in a manner which must have appeared abrupt. On arriving at Paris, he went directly to the house of M. De Kalb; concealed himself for three days at Chaillot, saw a few of his friends and some Americans, and set out for Bordeaux, where his vessel, secretly purchased in his behalf, by his friend Duboismartin, had been undergoing repairs. An unexpected delay here occurred, the vessel not being ready for sea. He availed himself of this delay to despatch a messenger to Paris for intelligence. By the return of this messenger, he learned that his intentions had become known at Versailles, and that an order by the king for his arrest, was already on the road. He therefore set sail immediately for Passage, a Spanish port, where he intended to complete his arrangements. Here the orders from his sovereign and the communications from his friends, overtook him. "The letters," he says, "from my family, were extremely violent, and those from the government were peremptory; I was forbidden to proceed to the American conti-

nent under the penalty of disobedience ; I was enjoined to repair instantly to Marseilles, and await their further orders."

This was a trying crisis for the young patriot. His courage, his sincerity and his fidelity, were severely tested. Had his espousal of the cause of liberty been but a romanti<sup>k</sup>ck impulse, sufficient time had elapsed for his ardour to cool. Were pretexts wanting for an abandonment of the enterprise ;—abundant, and weighty ones, were furnished, to justify such a course, without impeaching his valour, his good faith, or his honour. It was, for one in his station, no slight affair to disobey the orders of his sovereign. The confidence of a despotick monarch and a proud aristocracy might be withdrawn from him ; his immense estates, now under his own control, confiscated ; the affections of family and kindred forfeited for ever ; and the proud champion of America, instead of exercising a boundless influence and exhaustless resources in the cause he had espoused, might become an exile and an outlaw in the land where liberty as yet maintained a doubtful contest. There were considerations, yet more powerful. There was "a tie that bound him" to his country, stronger than all these. He had a young wife whom he most tenderly loved. He had, for the purpose of sparing her feelings and his own, departed without taking personal leave. She was in that delicate situation which demands and excites the tenderest sympathies of a husband. She had expressed her grief, in common with his other connexions, on his design to depart for America being known. This, he declares, had more effect upon him, than the threatened anathema, the laws of the state, and the power and displeasure of the government.

But the firmness of Lafayette was not to be shaken amidst these trials. It is well for the independence of America that it was so : for without the aid of France, the munitions, the soldiers, and the fleets she sent us, induced by the example and solicitations of Lafayette, our brave armies might have struggled in vain. It was necessary for him, however, to yield a tacit obedience, for the purpose of expostulating with power, and seeking a more favourable opportunity for a final departure. He returned to Bordeaux, and entered into a correspondence with the ministers, justifying his conduct, and soliciting leave to pursue his intentions. No direct answer being returned to these solicitations, he wrote

to M. de Maurepas, that he considered this silence of the government as "a tacit consent." He learned, however, through a confidential person sent to M. de Coigny, that there were no hopes of attaining the permission he wished for. Under the pretence of repairing to Marseilles, where he had received an order to join his father-in-law, who was going into Italy, Lafayette set off in a postchaise with an officer named Maurey, who was desirous of going to America. Soon after leaving Bordeaux, he disguised himself as a courier, and mounted on horseback. The carriage taking the road to Bayonne, Lafayette rode forward to procure relays of horses. At Bayonne, they stopped for two or three hours; and while Maurey transacted some requisite business, Lafayette lay on some straw in the stable. Pursuing their journey, Lafayette still in the character and costume of a courier, he was recognized at a little village called St. Jean de Luz, while calling for horses, by a young girl, a daughter of the postmaster. She had noticed him a few days previous, while on his way from Passage to Bordeaux. He made a sign to her to keep silent. The young girl understood the signal, and observed it faithfully. When his pursuers came up, she answered to their inquiries, that a carriage had passed, but it contained no such person as they inquired for. This adroit answer turned away pursuit, and Lafayette reached his vessel at Passage in safety.

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### CHAPTER III.

Sails for America—Voyage—Difficulties with the captain—Study and employment—Letters to Madame Lafayette—Prophetick sentiments—Arrives at Georgetown, S. C.—Lands on the American shore—Swears to conquer or perish in the cause—At the house of Major Huger—First impressions—Reception at Charleston—Letter from thence—Journey by land to Philadelphia.

THE same day that he rejoined his vessel at Passage, the 26th of April, 1777, Lafayette set sail for America. He was accompanied by the Baron de Kalb, and eleven other officers of different ranks, who designed, with him, to join the American standard. The vessel in which they embarked, is described as a heavy ship, with two bad cannon

and a few guns, and illly fitted for resistance, even against a small privateer. It was Lafayette's determination, however, not to be taken ; and he concerted measures with a brave Dutchman on board, named Bedaulx, to blow up the vessel, rather than surrender, in case of attack. The ship's papers had been taken out for the French West India islands. The captain was reluctant to depart from this avowed destination ; or at least without touching at the islands, the usual course then pursued by French vessels bound for America ; and it was not until Lafayette, after expostulating with him, claiming the control of his own property, and threatening to deprive him of command, and give it to the mate, that the captain consented to steer directly for the American coast. Lafayette afterwards ascertained, that the captain's reluctance to comply, arose from his having goods in the ship to the value of eight thousand dollars ; and although the goods had been put on board without his authority, Lafayette generously guaranteed their safety to the captain. It was fortunate that the direct course to America was pursued ; for the French government had despatched orders to the West India islands to stop Lafayette, should his vessel touch there in its passage.

Lafayette, in the commencement of the voyage, experienced severe sea sickness. When he recovered from the effects of it, he employed himself in studying the English language, and military tacticks. Nor did he neglect the duties of affection. In a letter addressed to his wife, dated "on board the Victory, May 30th, 1777," he says :—

" How many fears and anxieties enhance the keen anguish I feel at being separated from all that I love most fondly in the world ! How have you borne my second departure ? Have you loved me less ? Have you pardoned me ? Have you reflected that, at all events, I must equally have been parted from you—wandering about in Italy, dragging on an inglorious life, surrounded by the persons most opposed to my projects and to my manner of thinking ? All these reflections, did not prevent my experiencing the most bitter grief when the moment arrived for quitting my native shore. Your sorrow, that of my friends, Henrietta, all rushed upon my thoughts, and my heart was torn by a thousand painful feelings. I could not at that instant find any excuse for my own conduct. If you could know all

that I have suffered, and the melancholy days that I have passed, whilst thus flying from all that I love best in the world ! Must I join to this affliction the grief of hearing that you do not pardon me ? I should in truth, my love, be too unhappy."

Under date of June 7th, he adds :—

" I am still floating upon this dreary plain, the most wearisome of all human habitations. To console myself a little, I think of you and of my friends. I think of the pleasure of seeing you again. How delightful will be the moment of my arrival ! I shall hasten to surprise and embrace you. I shall perhaps find you with your children. To think, only, of that happy moment, is an inexpressible pleasure to me ; do not fancy that it is distant ; although the time of my absence will appear, I own, very long to me, yet we shall meet sooner than you can expect. Whilst defending the liberty I adore, I shall enjoy perfect freedom myself ; I but offer my service to that interesting republick from motives of the purest kind, unmixed with ambition or private views ; her happiness and my glory are my only incentives to the task. I hope that, for my sake, you will become a good American, for that feeling is worthy of every noble heart. The happiness of America is intimately connected with the happiness of all mankind. She will become the safe and respected asylum of virtue, integrity, toleration, equality, and tranquil happiness."

How patriotick, how just, and how prophetick, were the closing sentences which we have quoted from this affectionate letter ! Let not the reader cavil at the terms of endearment which are indulged by the writer, in the foregoing and other letters which we shall find occasion to copy. Let it be realized, that they are the tributes of a youthful husband, to a young and lovely and beloved wife, from whom he is separated by a wide expanse of waters, which could not at that day be crossed without a long, tedious, and hazardous passage. What a wonderful revolution has since been wrought, by the science of navigation and the magick power of steam !

In a postscript to the same letter, dated June 15th, he informs Madame Lafayette of his safe arrival in perfect health at the house of Major Huger, in Georgetown, South Carolina ;—that he should set out the same evening for Charles-

ton, from whence he should repair by land to Philadelphia, to join the army. His first impressions of the country, as being highly favourable, were indicated. "The manners in this part of the world, (he says,) are simple, polite, and worthy in every respect of the country in which the noble name of liberty is constantly repeated."

It was after a perilous voyage of seven weeks, having been alarmed by a privateer, which proved to be American, and providentially escaped the vigilance of two British cruisers which were on the coast, that Lafayette and his companions reached the American shore, near Georgetown, South Carolina. "Ascending (he asserts in his Memoirs) the river in a canoe, his foot touched at length the American shore, and he swore that he would conquer or perish in that cause. Landing at midnight at Major Huger's house, he found a vessel sailing for France, which appeared only waiting for his letters."

"When they landed, (says Mr. Sparks,) a distant light served to guide them. As they approached the house from whence it issued, the dogs barked, and the people took them for a band of marauders landing from an enemy's ship. They were asked who they were, and what they wanted. Baron Kalb replied, and all suspicions vanished. The next morning the weather was beautiful. The novelty of all that surrounded him—the room, the bed covered with moschetto nets, the black servants who came to ask his commands, the beauty and foreign aspect of the country which he beheld from his windows, and which was covered by a rich vegetation, all united to produce on M. de Lafayette a magical effect, and excite in him a variety of inexpressible sensations."

Provided with horses by Major Huger, Lafayette and several of his companions repaired directly to Charleston. Others remained in the vessel, which also proceeded to Charleston harbour. Fortune, as well as its illustrious owner, here forsook it; and soon after, on its departure for France, laden with rice, it struck upon the bar, and the vessel and cargo were entirely lost. At Charleston, the reception of Lafayette was cordial and satisfactory. He visited the fortifications in company with Generals Gadsden and Moultrie. Thatcher states, that on this occasion, charmed with the gallant defence of the fort on Sullivan's Island,

which had been conducted by Gen. Moultrie the year previous, Lafayette presented him with clothing, arms, and accoutrements for one hundred men. "This beautiful city, (says Lafayette,) is worthy of its inhabitants, and every thing there announced not only comfort, but even luxury." But the following extracts from a letter to Madame de Lafayette, dated at Charleston, June 19th, describes his reception, feelings, and the incidents which occurred previous to his leaving that city :

" I landed after having sailed for several days along a coast swarming with hostile vessels. On my arrival here every one told me that my ship must undoubtedly be taken, because two English frigates had blockaded the harbour. I even sent, both by land and sea, orders to the captain to put the men on shore, and burn the vessel, if he had still the power of doing so. Well! by a most extraordinary piece of good fortune, a sudden gale of wind having blown away the frigates for a short time, my vessel arrived at noon-day, without having encountered friend or foe. At Charleston I have met with General Howe, a general officer, now engaged in service. The governour of the state is expected this evening from the country. All the persons with whom I wished to be acquainted have shown me the greatest attention and politeness (not European politeness merely); I can only feel gratitude for the reception I have met with, although I have not yet thought proper to enter into any detail respecting my future prospects and arrangements. I wish to see the congress first. I hope to set out in two days for Philadelphia, which is a land journey of more than two hundred and fifty leagues. We shall divide into small parties; I have already purchased horses and light carriages for this purpose.

" I shall now speak to you, my love, about the country and its inhabitants, who are as agreeable as my enthusiasm had led me to imagine. Simplicity of manner, kindness of heart, love of country and of liberty, and a delightful state of equality, are met with universally. The richest and the poorest man are completely on a level; and although there are some immense fortunes in this country, I may challenge any one to point out the slightest difference in their respective manner towards each other. I first saw and judged of a country life at Major Huger's house: I am

at present in the city, where every thing somewhat resembles the English customs, except that you find more simplicity here than you would do in England. Charleston is one of the best built, handsomest, and most agreeable cities that I have ever seen. The American women are very pretty, and have great simplicity of character ; and the extreme neatness of their appearance is truly delightful : cleanliness is everywhere even more studiously attended to here than in England. What gives me most pleasure is to see how completely the citizens are all brethren of one family. In America there are none poor, and none even that can be called peasants. Each citizen has some property, and all citizens have the same rights as the richest individual, or landed proprietor, in the country. The inns are very different from those of Europe ; the host and hostess sit at the table with you, and do the honours of a comfortable meal ; and when you depart, you pay your bill without being obliged to tax it. If you should dislike going to inns, you may always find country houses in which you will be received, as a good American, with the same attention that you might expect in a friend's house in Europe.

" My own reception has been most peculiarly agreeable. To have been merely my travelling companion, suffices to secure the kindest welcome. I have just passed five hours at a large dinner given in compliment to me by an individual of this town. Generals Howe and Moultrie, and several officers of my suite, were present. We drank each other's health, and endeavoured to talk English, which I am beginning to speak a little. I shall pay a visit to-morrow, with these gentlemen, to the governour of the state, and make the last arrangements for my departure. The next day the commanding officers here will take me to see the town and its environs, and I shall then set out to join the army.

" From the agreeable life I lead in this country, from the sympathy which makes me feel as much at ease with the inhabitants as if I had known them twenty years, the similarity between their manner of thinking and of my own, my love of glory and of liberty, you might imagine that I am very happy : but you are not with me, my dearest love ; my friends are not with me ; and there is no happiness for me when far from you and them. I often ask you if you still love, but I put that question still more often to myself,

and my heart ever answers, yes ; I trust that my heart does not deceive me. I am inexpressibly anxious to hear from you ; I hope to find some letters at Philadelphia. My only fear is that the privateer which was to bring them to me should have been captured on her way. Although I can easily imagine that I have excited the especial displeasure of the English, by taking the liberty of coming hither in spite of them, and landing before their very face, yet I must confess that we shall be even more than on a par if they succeed in catching that vessel, the object of my fondest hopes, by which I am expecting to receive your letters. I entreat you to send me both long and frequent letters. You are not sufficiently conscious of the joy with which I shall receive them. Embrace, most tenderly, my Henriette : may I add, embrace our children ? The father of those poor children is a wanderer, but he is, nevertheless a good, honest man,—a good father, warmly attached to his family, and a good husband also, for he loves his wife most tenderly. The night is far advanced, the heat intense, and I am devoured by gnats ; but the best countries, as you perceive, have their inconveniences. Adieu, my love, adieu."

Agreeably to arrangements, Lafayette, accompanied by six other officers, set out by land for Philadelphia. At that period, from unfavourable weather, the newness and bad state of the roads, and to strangers to the country and its mode of travelling, it was an arduous journey. The progress of the travellers is stated in a letter from Lafayette to his wife, dated at Pittsburgh, July 17th, 1777.

"I am now, (he says,) eight days' journey from Philadelphia, in the beautiful state of Virginia. All fatigue is over, and I fear that my martial labours will be very light, if it be true that General Howe has left New-York, to go I know not whither. But all the accounts I receive are so uncertain, that I cannot form any fixed opinion until I reach my destination. \* \* \* \* \*

"You must have learnt the particulars of the commencement of my journey : you know that I set out in a brilliant manner in a carriage, and I must now tell you that we are all on horseback,—having broken the carriage, according to my usual praiseworthy custom,—and I hope soon to write to you that we have arrived on foot. The journey is some-

what fatiguing ; but although several of my comrades have suffered a great deal, I have scarcely myself been conscious of fatigue. The captain who takes charge of this letter will, perhaps, pay you a visit. I beg you in that case, to receive him with great kindness. \* \* \* \* \*

“ The farther I advance to the north, the better pleased am I with the country and its inhabitants. There is no attention or kindness that I do not receive, although many scarcely know who I am. But I will write all this to you more in detail from Philadelphia.”

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## CHAPTER IV.

Lafayette arrives in Philadelphia—State of affairs—Anxiety for employment—Applies to Congress—Embarrassing circumstances—Cool reception—Offers to serve at his own expense, and as a volunteer—Accepted by Congress—Commission as Major-General—Lafayette's first interview with Gen. Washington—His arrival at the American camp—His description of the army—Anxious for an active command—Embarrassment of Gen. Washington.

AFTER a fatiguing journey of one month, having rode nearly nine hundred miles on horseback, Lafayette at length reached Philadelphia, where the American Congress was assembled. The period of his arrival was apparently propitious to his patriotick design, and ardent wishes for immediate employment. The disasters of the previous campaign had been in a measure retrieved ; but perils existed and dangers threatened to an eminent degree. We have said that the kindred spirits of Washington and Lafayette, though separated by a wide ocean, sympathised in that dark hour. They mutually retained confidence in the final triumph of the American arms. When asked, after the retreat through New Jersey, what he would do if Philadelphia should be taken, Washington is reported to have said, “ We will retreat beyond the Susquehannah river ; and thence, if necessary, to the Allegany mountains.” “ Knowing, as he did, (says Mr. Sparks,) the temper of the people, the deep-rooted cause of the controversy, and the actual resources of the confederacy, he was not disheartened by temporary misfortunes, being persuaded that perseverance would at last

overcome every obstacle." Endowed by Congress with extraordinary powers, he employed them promptly, energetically, and successfully, to increase the numerical force and military resources of the army. He recrossed the Delaware, defeated the British and Hessian forces at Trenton, recovered the possession of New Jersey, and encamped for the winter of 1776-7 at Morristown. Late in the spring of 1777, Philadelphia being threatened by the British forces, by land and water, Washington marched his army to Germantown, prepared to act at a moment's warning, where it was at the time of Lafayette's arrival.

Anxious to unite himself to the cause, Lafayette, immediately after reaching Philadelphia, placed his letters, and his stipulation with Mr. Deane, in the hands of Mr. Lovell, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. But unexpected obstacles were opposed to his ardent expectations. So great a number of foreigners, many of them importunate and needy adventurers, had applied for employment and stations in the army, that Congress was embarrassed, and almost determined to listen to no further applications of the kind. "The coldness with which Lafayette was received," he himself remarks, "might have been taken for a dismissal." When he repaired next day to Congress, Mr. Lovell came out and told him, that, for the reasons we have mentioned above, there was but little hope of his request being acceded to. The youth and inexperience of Lafayette might have had some influence in occasioning the coolness of his first reception. But on no grounds, after the sacrifices he had made, could it be justified. Nothing daunted by it, however, and suspecting that his letters had not been read, he immediately penned the following note, with which he desired Mr. Lovell to return and present it to Congress :

"After the sacrifices I have made, I have the right to exact two favours : one is, to serve at my own expense—the other is, to serve at first as volunteer."

A proposition so generous and magnanimous, awakened Congress to a sense of its author's worth, to the prospect of his usefulness, and to the obligations thus imposed upon them to exhibit a corresponding degree of confidence and liberality. Promptly, therefore, on the 31st July, 1777, the following preamble and resolution were adopted :

"Whereas, the Marquis de Lafayette, out of his great zeal

in the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connexions, and, at his own expense, come over to offer his service to the United States, without pension or particular allowance, and is anxious to risk his life in our cause :

*Resolved*, That his service be accepted, and that in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connexions, he have the rank and commission of a Major-General in the army of the United States."

This *rank and commission*, however, was as yet but a barren title. It was clothed with no corresponding command. But, while Congress exercised no more than ordinary prudence in withholding an immediate command from one so young and as yet untried, they, in this publick declaration, accepted in a delicate and honourable mode the services of Lafayette, and conferred the proud rank of a Major-General in the American army upon an embryo hero, who had not reached the age of twenty years !

The day following this event, August 1st, 1777, Lafayette had his first interview with the Commander-in-chief, with whose services and fame he was destined to be so closely identified. On the 31st of July, Gen. Washington had received information that the enemy's fleet, with the army of Lord Howe on board, the eccentric movements of which at that time caused so much embarrassment as to its contemplated point of attack, had arrived at the Capes of Delaware. He immediately gave orders for the several divisions of the American army to march upon Philadelphia, and he himself repaired to that city for the purpose of procuring intelligence, and arranging for the defence of the city. It was at a dinner party that Lafayette was first introduced to General Washington. "Although, (says Lafayette,) he was surrounded by officers and citizens, it was impossible to mistake for a moment his majestic figure and deportment ; nor was he less distinguished by the noble affability of his manners." "When the company were about to separate," says Mr. Sparks, "Washington took Lafayette aside, spoke to him very kindly, complimented him upon the noble spirit he had shown and the sacrifices he had made in favour of the American cause, and then told him, that he should be pleased if he would make the quarters of the Commander-in-chief his home, establish himself there whenever

he thought proper, and consider himself at all times as one of his family ; adding, in a tone of pleasantry, that he could not promise him the luxuries of a court, or even the conveniences which his former habits might have rendered essential to his comfort ; but, since he had become an American soldier, he would doubtless contrive to accommodate himself to the character he had assumed, and submit with a good grace to the customs, manners, and privations of the republican army."

From this moment the bond of friendship was sealed between these heroes, which was to cement them throughout their lives in the cause of liberty and philanthropy, and to connect their names and virtues in the memory of mankind for ever.

On the day that Lafayette arrived at the American camp, to take up his quarters in the military family of Washington, there was a review of the troops by the General. To the eye of Lafayette, accustomed to view the well disciplined, well fed, and well uniformed troops of Europe, this first introduction to that army upon which hung the destinies of a nation which was to rival the old world, was novel and interesting. It is thus described, in his own language :

" About eleven thousand men, ill armed and still worse clothed, presented a strange spectacle to the eye of the young Frenchman : their clothes were party-coloured, and many of them were almost naked ; the best clad wore *hunting shirts*, large gray linen coats, which were much used in Carolina. As to their military tacticks, it will be sufficient to say that, for a regiment ranged in order of battle to move forward on the right of its line, it was necessary for the left to make a continued countermarch. They were always arranged in two lines, the smallest men in the first line ; no other distinction as to height was ever observed. In spite of these disadvantages, the soldiers were fine, and the officers zealous ; virtue stood in the place of science, and each day added both to experience and discipline. Lord Stirling, more courageous than judicious, another general who was often intoxicated, and Greene, whose talents were only then known to his immediate friends, commanded as majors-general. General Knox, who had changed the profession of bookseller to that of artillery officer, was there also, and had himself formed other officers, and created an artillery.

‘We must feel embarrassed,’ said General Washington, on his arrival, ‘to exhibit ourselves before an officer who has just quitted French troops.’ ‘It is to learn and not to teach that I came hither,’ replied M. de Lafayette.”

The ardour of Lafayette was by no means diminished, by his intercourse with the army, and he was anxious for an active command. Gen. Washington was thereby much embarrassed. He wrote to Mr. Harrison, a member from Virginia, (19th August, 1777,) for the views of Congress on the subject. “If I did not (he says) misunderstand what you or some other member of Congress said to me, respecting the appointment of the Marquis de Lafayette, he has misconceived the design of his appointment, or Congress did not understand the extent of his views; for certain it is, that I understood him, that he does not conceive his commission is merely honorary, but given with a view to command a division of the army. It is true, he has said, that he is young and inexperienced, but at the same time has always accompanied it with a hint, that so soon as I shall think him fit for the command of a division, he shall be ready to enter upon the duties of it, and in the mean time has offered his services for a smaller command.” The marquis had also applied to Gen. Washington for commissions for his two aids-de-camp. “This difficulty, (says the general) with the numberless applications for employment by foreigners, under their respective appointments, adds no small embarrassment to a command, which, without it, is abundantly perplexed by the different tempers I have to do with, and different modes which the respective states have pursued in nominating and arranging their officers; the combination of all which is but a too just representation of a great chaos, from whence we are endeavouring, how successfully time only can show, to draw some regularity and order.”

Mr. Harrison replied to him, that Congress considered the appointment of the Marquis de Lafayette as honorary only, unaccompanied with any pledge, and that Gen. Washington was not bound by the tenour of his commission to give him a command, but was at liberty to follow his own judgement in this respect. But the progress of events soon dissipated these embarrassments; opened the way of promotion to Lafayette, and proved him as willing to obey, and as able as he was ready to command, in the cause of liberty.

## CHAPTER V.

The Crisis—Sufferings of the army—Events and movements—Arrival of the enemy's fleet—March of the army—Battle of Brandywine—Lafayette wounded—His account of the battle—Is conveyed to Bethlehem—Employment there—Domestick correspondence—Zeal, correspondence and projects, in behalf of America—Movements of the armies—Battle of Germantown—Minor operations—Red Bank—Death of Count Donop—Fort Mifflin—Major Fleury.

IT was a crisis truly trying to the Commander-in-chief, and critical for the American cause. In a letter to his brother, dated at Germantown, 5th August, 1777, General Washington said : “ Since Gen. Howe removed from the Jerseys, the troops under my command have been more harassed by marching and countermarching, than by any other thing that has happened to them in the course of the campaign. After he had embarked his troops, the presumption that he would operate upon the North River, to form a junction with General Burgoyne, was so strong, that I removed from Middlebrook to Morristown, and from Morristown to the Clove, a narrow passage leading through the Highlands, about eighteen miles from the river. Indeed, upon some pretty strong presumptive evidence, I threw two battalions over the North River. In this situation we lay till about the 24th ultimo, when receiving certain information, that the fleet had actually sailed from Sandy Hook, and upon the concurring sentiment of every one, though I acknowledge my doubts of it were very strong, that Philadelphia was the object, we countermarched and got to Coryell's ferry on the Delaware, about thirty-three miles above the city, on the 27th, where I lay until I received information from Congress, that the enemy were actually at the Capes of the Delaware. This brought us in great haste to this place, for the defence of the city. But in less than twenty-four hours after our arrival, we got accounts of the disappearance of the fleet on the 31st ; since which, nothing having been heard of them, we have remained here in a

very irksome state of suspense ; some imagining that they are gone southward, whilst a majority, in whose opinion upon this occasion I concur, are satisfied that they are gone to the eastward. The fatigue, however, and injury which men must sustain by long marches in such extreme heat, as we have felt for the last five days, must keep us quiet till we hear something of the destination of the enemy."

In the mean time, at the north, Ticonderoga and Mount Independence had surrendered to the enemy ; Fort Schuyler was invested, and the army of Burgoyne, was marching in its arrogant and hitherto victorious career, to meet its destiny upon the memorable plains of Saratoga. While upon the march with the army to recross the Delaware, on the 10th of August, Gen. Washington was informed by express, that the enemy's fleet had been seen on the 7th, off Sinepuxent Inlet, about sixteen leagues to the southward of the Capes of Delaware ; and, the army was again halted for further intelligence. Up to the 21st of August, no further accounts were heard of the enemy's fleet. It was inferred, that Gen. Howe had gone far to the eastward, or southward ; but the prevalent opinion was, that he designed to attack Charleston. It was therefore decided in a council of war, on the 21st, that as it was impracticable to march seasonably to the aid of Charleston, the army should move immediately to the North River, with a view of opposing Burgoyne, or making an attempt upon New York, as might be expedient. In this council of war, Lafayette, for the first time, took part, and attended with the rank of major-general.

This decision was approved by Congress ; but the very next day, the 22d August, being on the point of marching, Gen. Washington received a letter from President Hancock, informing him that an express had that moment arrived from Maryland, with the account that Gen. Howe's fleet, near two hundred sail, were at anchor in Chesapeake Bay. The design to attack Philadelphia was therefore apparent ; and the destination of the army was changed. Orders were immediately given for calling in the several detachments. The whole army was put in motion ; and on the 24th, for the purpose of encouraging the friends of liberty and influencing the disaffected, Washington march-

ed his army through the streets of Philadelphia. "Their heads covered with green branches, and marching to the sound of drums and fifes, these soldiers, (says Lafayette,) in spite of their destitution, offered an agreeable spectacle to the eyes of the citizens."

Gen. Washington encamped at Clay Creek, a few miles beyond Wilmington. The British landed near the head of Elk River ; and the manœuvres and dispositions of both armies were made for the approaching and memorable battle of Brandywine. It was in this battle that Lafayette sealed with his blood his covenant with the American people. In the hottest of the contest, he had dismounted to rally the troops, who were retreating in disorder, and received a severe wound in the leg. Unmindful of this, he continued his exertions, until obliged to remount his horse by the loss of blood. Nor did he cease his efforts until the retreat as far as Chester was accomplished. A detailed account of the battle of Brandywine, which General Washington was induced to risk, in opposition to his own judgement, against a superior force and under many disadvantages, in conformity to the expectations of the country and of Congress, and indeed of Europe, will be found in almost every book of American history and biography. It may, however, be interesting to the reader of this volume, to see the description of it which Lafayette himself has given. We therefore present it as follows :

" After having advanced as far as Wilmington, the general [Washington] had detached a thousand men under Maxwell, the most ancient brigadier in the army. At the first march of the English, he was beaten by their advance guard near Christiana Bridge. During that time the army took but an indifferent station at Newport ; they then removed a little south, waited two days for the enemy, and, at the moment when these were marching upon their right wing, a nocturnal council of war decided that the army was to proceed to the Brandywine. The stream bearing that name covered its front ; the ford called Chad's Ford, placed nearly in the centre, was defended by batteries. It was in that hardly examined station that, in obedience to a letter from Congress, the Americans awaited the battle. The evening of the 10th of September, Howe advanced in two columns, and, by a very fine movement, the left column (about 8000 men under Lord Cornwallis, with the grenadiers and guards) directed themselves towards the fords of Birmingham, three miles on our right ; the other column continued its road, and about nine o'clock in the morning it appeared on the other side of the stream. The enemy was so near the skirts of the wood that it was impossible to judge of his force ; some

time was lost in a mutual cannonading. General Washington walked along his two lines, and was received with acclamations which seemed to promise him success. The intelligence that was received of the movements of Cornwallis was both confused and contradictory; owing to the conformity of name betwixt two roads that were of equal length and parallel to each other, the best officers were mistaken in their reports. The only musket shots that had been fired were from Maxwell, who killed several of the enemy, but was driven back upon the left of the American army, across a ford by which he had before advanced. Three thousand militia had been added to the army, but they were placed in the rear to guard some still more distant militia, and took no part themselves in the action. Such was the situation of the troops when they learnt the march of Lord Cornwallis towards the scarcely known fords of Birmingham: they then detached three divisions, forming about five thousand men, under the generals Sullivan, Stirling, and Stephens. M. de Lafayette, as volunteer, had always accompanied the general. The left wing remaining in a state of tranquillity, and the right appearing fated to receive all the heavy blows, he obtained permission to join Sullivan. At his arrival, which seemed to inspirit the troops, he found that, the enemy having crossed the ford, the corps of Sullivan had scarcely had time to form itself on a line in front of a thinly wooded forest. A few moments after, Lord Cornwallis formed in the finest order: advancing across the plain, his first line opened a brisk fire of musketry and artillery; the Americans returned the fire, and did much injury to the enemy; but their right and left wings having given way, the generals and several officers joined the central division, in which were M. de Lafayette and Stirling, and of which eight hundred men were commanded in a most brilliant manner by Conway, an Irishman in the service of France. By separating that division from its two wings, and advancing through an open plain, in which they lost many men, the enemy united all his fire upon the centre; the confusion became extreme; and it was whilst M. de Lafayette was rallying the troops that a ball passed through his leg;—at that moment all those remaining on the field gave way. M. de Lafayette was indebted to Gimat, his aid-de-camp, for the happiness of getting upon his horse. General Washington arrived from a distance with fresh troops; M. de Lafayette was preparing to join him, when loss of blood obliged him to stop and have his wound bandaged; he was even very near being taken. Fugitives, cannon, and baggage, now crowded without order into the road leading to Chester. The general employed the remaining daylight in checking the enemy: some regiments behaved extremely well, but the disorder was complete. During that time the ford of Chad was forced, the cannon taken, and the Chester road became the common retreat of the whole army. In the midst of that dreadful confusion, and during the darkness of the night, it was impossible to recover; but at Chester, twelve miles from the field of battle, they met with a bridge which it was necessary to cross; M. de Lafayette occupied himself in arresting the fugitives; some degree of order was re-established; the generals and the Commander-in-chief arrived; and he had leisure to have his wound dressed.

“It was thus, at twenty-six miles from Philadelphia, that the fate of

that town was decided, (11th September, 1777.) The inhabitants had heard every cannon that was fired there ; the two parties, assembled in two distinct bands in all the squares and publick places, had awaited the event in silence. The last courier at length arrived, and the friends of liberty were thrown into consternation. The Americans had lost from 1000 to 1200 men. Howe's army was composed of about 12,000 men ; their losses had been so considerable that their surgeons, and those in the country, were found insufficient, and they requested the American army to supply them with some for their prisoners."

The morning after the battle, Lafayette was conveyed by water to Philadelphia, where he received the greatest sympathy and attention. Many of the inhabitants, however, abandoned the city and their possessions the same day. Congress repaired precipitately to Bristol, and thence to York, beyond the Susquehanna, where they remained eight months, until Philadelphia was evacuated by the British army. To Bristol Lafayette was taken by water ; thence, he was conveyed by Mr. Laurens, President of Congress, in his carriage, to Bethlehem, and left in the care of the Moravian Society, "where (he says) the mild religion of the brotherhood, the community of fortune, education, and interests, formed a striking contrast to scenes of blood, and the convulsions occasioned by a civil war."

In this quiet and romantick retreat, Lafayette was detained, and for the most time confined to his bed for about six weeks, suffering less from his wound than from an inactivity hostile to his nature, and impatience to rejoin the army. He employed himself, however, in correspondence, and in forming plans to aid the cause of America. In the letters to Madame Lafayette, he spoke playfully of the injury he had received, showing that he regarded his wound as a badge of honour, rather than a misfortune to be regretted ; mingling with the tributes of affection, so honourable to him as a man, a husband and a father, the details of intelligence, and the proofs of his devotion to the glorious cause which he had espoused. The day after the battle, (September 12th,) from Philadelphia, he wrote :

"I must begin by telling you that I am perfectly well, because I must end by telling you that we fought seriously last night, and that we were not the strongest on the field of battle. Our Americans, after having stood their ground for some time, ended at length by being routed ; whilst endeavouring to rally them, the English honoured me with a musket ball, which slightly wounded me in the leg,—but it is

a trifle, my dearest love ; the ball touched neither bone nor nerve, and I have escaped with the obligation of lying on my back for some time, which puts me much out of humour. I hope that you will feel no anxiety ; this event ought, on the contrary, rather to reassure you, since I am incapacitated from appearing on the field for some time. I have resolved to take great care of myself ; be convinced of this, my love. This affair, will, I fear, be attended with bad consequences for America. We will endeavour, if possible, to repair the evil. You must have received many letters from me, unless the English be equally ill-disposed towards my epistles as towards my legs. I have not yet received one letter, and I am most impatient to hear from you. Adieu ; I am forbidden to write longer."

Under date of October 1st, 1777, he says :

" I wrote to you my dearest love, the 12th of September ; the twelfth was the day after the eleventh, and I have a little tale to relate to you concerning that eleventh day. To render my action more meritorious, I might tell you that prudent reflections induced me to remain for some weeks in my bed, safe sheltered from all danger ; but I must acknowledge that I was encouraged to take this measure by a slight wound, which I met with I know not how, for I did not, in truth, expose myself to peril. It was the first conflict at which I had been present, so you see how very rare engagements are. It will be the last of this campaign, or, in all probability, at least, the last great battle ; and if anything should occur, you see that I could not myself be present.

" My first occupation was to write to you the day after that affair ; I told you that it was a mere trifle, and I was right ; all I fear is that you should not have received my letter. As general Howe is giving, in the meantime, rather pompous details of his American exploits to the king his master, if he should write word that I am wounded, he may also write word that I am killed, which would not cost him anything ; but I hope that my friends, and you especially, will not give faith to the reports of those persons who last year dared to publish that General Washington, and all the general officers of his army, being in a boat together, had been upset, and every individual drowned. But let us speak about the wound : it is only a flesh-wound, and has neither touched bone nor nerve. The surgeons are astonished at the rapidity with which it heals ; they are in an ecstacy of joy each time they dress it, and pretend it is the finest thing in the world : for my part I think it most disagreeable, painful, and wearisome ; but tastes often differ : if a man, however, wished to be wounded for his amusement only, he should come and examine how I have been struck, that he might be struck precisely in the same manner. This, my dearest love, is what I pompously style my wound, to give myself airs, and render myself interesting.

" I must now give you your lesson, as wife of an American general officer. They will say to you, 'They have been beaten :' you must answer,—'That is true ; but when two armies of *equal number* meet in the field, old soldiers have naturally the advantage over new ones ; they have, besides, had the pleasure of killing a great many of the enemy, many more than they have lost.' They will afterwards add :

‘ All that is very well ; but Philadelphia istaken, the capital of America, the rampart of liberty ! ’ You must politely answer, ‘ You are all great fools ! Philadelphia is a poor forlorn town, exposed on every side, whose harbour was already closed ; though the residence of Congress lent it, I know not why, some degree of celebrity. This is the famous city which, be it added, we will, sooner or later, make them yield back to us.’ If they continue to persecute you with questions, you may send them about their business in terms which the Viscount de Noailles will teach you, for I cannot lose time by talking to you of politicks.

“ Be perfectly at ease about my wound ; all the faculty in America are engaged in my service. I have a friend, who has spoken to them in such a manner that I am certain of being well attended to ; that friend is General Washington. This excellent man, whose talents and virtues I admired, and whom I have learnt to revere as I know him better, has now become my intimate friend : his affectionate interest in me instantly won my heart. I am established in his house, and we live together like two attached brothers, with mutual confidence and cordiality. This friendship renders me as happy as I can possibly be in this country. When he sent his best surgeon to me, he told him to take charge of me as if I were his son, because he loved me with the same affection. Having heard that I wished to rejoin the army too soon, he wrote me a letter full of tenderness, in which he requested me to attend to the perfect restoration of my health. I give you these details, my dearest love, that you may feel quite certain of the care that is taken of me. Amongst the French officers, who have all expressed the warmest interest for me, M. de Gimat, my aid-de-camp, has followed me about like my shadow, both before and since the battle, and has given me every possible proof of attachment. You may thus feel quite secure on this account, both for the present and for the future.

“ I am at present in the solitude of Bethlehem, which the Abbe Raynal has described so minutely. This establishment is a very interesting one ; the fraternity lead an agreeable and very tranquil life : we will talk over all this on my return ; and I intend to weary those I love, yourself, of course, in the first place, by the relation of my adventures, for you know that I was always a great Prattler.

“ You must become a Prattler also, my love, and say many things for me to Henriette—my poor little Henriette ! embrace her a thousand times—talk of me to her, but do not tell her all I deserve to suffer ; my punishment will be, not to be recognized by her on my arrival ; that is the penance Henriette will impose on me.”

From Bethlehem, also, Lafayette wrote to the Gouvernour of the Windward islands, M. de Bouille, and proposed to him to make a descent upon the English West India islands, under American colours. That general approved of the project, and forwarded the proposition to the French court, but it was not accepted. He also wrote to Count de Maurepas, proposing a more important enterprise, in which he

would assist with some American forces, an attack upon the English factories in the Isle of France. The French minister, from motives consistent with the neutral pretext of his government at that time, did not adopt the project; but spoke publickly in praise of it, and expressed, ever after, a great partiality for Lafayette. "He will end one day" said he, smiling, "by unfurnishing the palace of Versailles to serve the American cause; for when he has taken anything into his head, it is impossible to resist him."

The day after the battle of Brandywine, Gen. Washington, having rallied his forces at Chester, retired in good order and encamped near Germantown. Undismayed by the result of the recent engagement, he, on the 17th September, recrossed the Schuylkill, "with the firm intent (he says, in a letter to the President of Congress, dated near Pottsgrove, Sept. 25th,) of giving the enemy battle, wherever I shall meet them; and accordingly (to continue his own account) I advanced as far as the Warren Tavern upon the Lancaster road, near which place the two armies were on the point of coming to a general engagement, but were prevented by a most violent flood of rain, which continued all the day and the following night." The ammunition of the Americans was completely ruined, and before it could be replenished the enemy marched from their position and crossed the river.

After taking possession of Philadelphia, Gen. Howe encamped with the larger part of his army, at Germantown. A detachment of it was stationed on the left bank of the Delaware in New Jersey. The British forces being thus divided, Gen. Washington formed the plan of attacking Howe by surprise. The American army was at Shipping Creek, about fourteen miles from the British encampment. Washington marched on the 3d of October, and on the morning of the 4th, commenced the attack which is known in history as the battle of Germantown. At first the attack was successful; "and had it not been for a thick fog (says Washington) which rendered it so dark at times, that we were not able to distinguish friend from foe at the distance of thirty yards, we should, I believe, have made a decisive and glorious day of it. But Providence designed it otherwise; for, after we had driven the enemy a mile or two, after they were in the utmost confusion, and flying be-

fore us in most places, after we were upon the point, as it appeared to every body, of grasping a complete victory, our own troops took fright, and fled with precipitation and disorder. How to account for this I know not; unless, as I before observed, the fog represented their own friends to them for a reinforcement of the enemy, as we attacked in different quarters at the same time, and were about closing the wings of our army when this happened."

But the following circumstance is now generally believed to have contributed greatly to this disastrous turn of affairs: Six companies of the 40th British regiment, commanded by Colonel Musgrave, had taken possession of Chew's house, a strong stone building, and baffled every effort to dislodge them, and retarded for some time the advance of the second line of the Americans, designed to support the centre, "and during this delay, (says Mr. Sparks,) Sullivan's division, which had been closely engaged in front, having mostly expended their ammunition, began to retreat, and falling back on the American line, threw it into disorder."

Gen. Washington regarded the result of this battle rather as "unfortunate than injurious." The loss of men was not great, although several valuable officers fell in the engagement. The enemy gained nothing, and the courage and ardour of the American army were increased. Soon after, Washington established himself at the celebrated encampment of Whitemarsh, fourteen miles from Philadelphia. The surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, was a joyous event to the armies and the friends of liberty. Minor operations along the Delaware, about the same time, were interesting. The fort at Red Bank, (Fort Mercer,) defended by Colonel Greene, was attacked by sixteen hundred Hessians, under Count Donop. They were repulsed with great slaughter, Count Donop was wounded and taken prisoner, and soon after died, exclaiming to Monsieur Duplessis, a French officer who attended him: "This is finishing a noble career early. *I die a victim of my own ambition, and the avarice of my sovereign.*" Fort Mifflin, attacked by land and water, was bravely defended. Two or three of the enemy's vessels were destroyed. But on the night of the 15th of November, the fort was evacuated, "after a defence (says Washington) which does credit to the American arms, and will ever reflect the highest honour upon the officers and

men of the garrison." In this defence, Major Fleury, a French officer, the friend of Lafayette, greatly distinguished himself, and was wounded. He was promoted to the rank of Lieut. Colonel. Fort Mercer was also evacuated on the 20th of November, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, who had crossed the river from Chester with a detachment supposed to be about two thousand men, and formed a junction with troops lately arrived from New York, and some that had been landed before at Billingsport.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Lafayette returns to head-quarters—Domestick anxiety and correspondence—Difficulty of communication with France—Situation and feelings—Desire for a command—Gen. Washington's letter on the subject—Success merited and won—Battle of Gloucester—Decision of Congress—Lafayette's character appreciated—Letter of Patrick Henry—The army in winter quarters—Its great sufferings at Whitemarsh and Valley Forge—Lafayette the soldier's friend—His zeal and humanity—His habits—Solicits the alliance of France—Advocates the American cause and character—Letter to the Duke D'Ayen.

WHILE the most important of these events were occurring, Lafayette remained at Bethlehem. But, unable to restrain his desire for employment, he repaired before his wound had healed, to head-quarters, at Whitemarsh, as appears from the date of his letters, about the 20th of October. He experienced much anxiety at this time, of a domestick nature, being almost totally deprived of intelligence from his friends and family in France. In a letter to Madame Lafayette, dated October 29th, 1777, he says: "I have no resource left me, my love, but to write and write again, without even hoping that my letters will ever reach you. Alluding to a domestick event, about which he felt natural solicitude: "I shall find (he writes) my poor little Henriette very amusing on my return. I hope she will deliver a long sermon of reproof, and that she will speak to me with all the frankness of friendship. \* \* \* \* \* Embrace her, my love—may I say embrace *them*?—for me! But I will not dwell upon all I suffer from this painful uncertainty."

In a letter dated November 6th, to Madame Lafayette, he illustrates the difficulty of communicating with Europe at that period :

“ See what a circuit my letter must make. An officer in the army will carry it to Fort Pitt, three hundred miles in the interior of the continent ; it will then embark on the great Ohio river, and traverse regions inhabited only by savages ; having reached New Orleans, a small vessel will transport it to the Spanish islands ; a ship of that nation—God knows when !—will carry it with her on her return to Europe. But it will even then be very distant from you ; and it is only after having been soiled by the dirty hands of all the Spanish post-masters that it will be allowed to pass the Pyrenees. It may very possibly be unsealed and resealed five or six times before it be finally placed in your hands ; but it will prove to you that I neglect no opportunity, not even the most indirect one, of sending you news of myself.” \* \* \* \* \*

“ One letter, one letter only, have I yet received from you, my love ; the others have been lost or taken, and are probably at the bottom of the sea.”

After giving an account of military events, he thus speaks of his then present situation and feelings :

“ You are now quite as well informed on the subject as if you were general-in-chief of either army. I need only add, at this moment, that the wound of the 11th of September, of which I have spoken to you a thousand times, is almost completely healed, although I am still a little lame, but that in a few days there will scarcely remain any traces of this accident. \* \* \* \* \*

“ A little gentleman, in a blue coat, with lemon-coloured facings and a white waistcoat, a German, coming hither to solicit employment, (which he will not obtain,) and speaking wretched French, told me that he quitted Europe in the month of August: he talked to me of politicks and of the ministry ; he upset all Europe generally, and every court individually : but he knew not a word of what was most interesting to my heart. I examined him in every way ; I mentioned fifty names to him ; his answer was always, ‘ *Me not know them noblemen.* ’

“ I will not weary you with a long account of the state of my finances. The accident which occurred to my vessel was a source of vexation to me, because that vessel would have been useful to me in the present settlement of my affairs ; but it is no longer in being, and I should reproach myself with having sent it back, had I not been obliged to make its return a clause in my engagements, on account of my minority. Every thing here is incredibly dear. We feel the consolation of the malevolent in thinking that the scarcity is still greater in Philadelphia. In time of war, we become reconciled to all we may ourselves endure by making our enemies suffer ten times more. We have here an abundance of provisions, and we learn with pleasure that our English neighbours are not so fortunate.

“ Do not think at present of being uneasy on my account ; all the

hard blows are over, and there can be, at most, but some little miniature strokes, which cannot concern me ; I am not less secure in this camp than I should be were I in the centre of Paris. If every possible advantage to be attained by serving here ; if the friendship of the army in gross and in detail ; if a tender union with the most respectable and admirable of men, General Washington, sustained by mutual confidence ; if the affections of those Americans by whom I wish to be beloved ; if all this were sufficient to constitute my happiness, I should indeed have nothing to desire."

But Gen. Lafayette, although thus satisfied with his personal position, and ready and willing to serve in any capacity, was still desirous of a command corresponding with the grade of his commission. Gen. Washington, in a letter to the President of Congress, November 1st, thus presses the subject upon the consideration of that body :

"I would take the liberty to mention, that I feel myself in a delicate situation with respect to the Marquis de Lafayette. He is extremely solicitous of having a command equal to his rank, and professes very different ideas, as to the purposes of his appointment, from those Congress have mentioned to me. He certainly did not understand them. I do not know in what light they will view the matter ; but it appears to me, from a consideration of his illustrious and important connexions, the attachment which he has manifested for our cause, and the consequences which his return in disgust might produce, that it will be advisable to gratify him in his wishes ; and the more so, as several gentlemen from France, who came over under some assurances, have gone back disappointed in their expectations. His conduct, with respect to them, stands in a favourable point of view, he having interested himself to remove their uneasiness, and urged the impropriety of their making any unfavourable representations upon their arrival at home ; and in all his letters he has placed our affairs in the best situation he could. Besides he is sensible, discreet in his manners, has made great proficiency in our language, and, from the disposition he discovered at the battle of Brandywine, possesses a large share of bravery and military ardour."

On the 26th of November, the Commander-in-chief had an opportunity of again urging the decision of Congress on this point, under circumstances still more impressive,—circumstances which were calculated not only to "deserve," but to "command" success.

"I must take (he writes) the liberty to request the decision of Congress on the case of the nine first raised Virginia regiments, as early as circumstances will permit. \* \* \* \* \*

I should also be happy in their determination respecting the Marquis de Lafayette. He is more and more solicitous to be in actual service, and is pressing in his applications for a command. I ventured before to submit my sentiments upon the measure, and I still fear a refusal

will not only induce him to return in disgust, but may involve some unfavourable consequences. There are now some vacant divisions in the army, to one of which he may be appointed, if it should be the pleasure of Congress. I am convinced he possesses a large share of that military ardour, which generally characterizes the nobility of his country. He went to Jersey with General Greene, and I find he has not been inactive there. This you will perceive by the following extract from a letter just received from General Greene.

“ ‘The Marquis, with about four hundred militia and the rifle corps, attacked the enemy’s picket last evening, killed about twenty, wounded many more, and took about twenty prisoners. The Marquis is charmed with the spirited behaviour of the militia and rifle corps; they drove the enemy about half a mile, and kept the ground until dark. The enemy’s picket consisted of about three hundred, and were reinforced during the skirmish. The Marquis is determined to be in the way of danger.’ ”



BATTLE OF GLOUCESTER.

The affair here referred to, was the Battle of Gloucester, in which were exhibited the first indications of a general-ship that was never tarnished by a military blunder. We have mentioned, that Lord Cornwallis, with a detachment, (variously stated from two thousand to five thousand men,) had crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, and compelled the Americans to evacuate Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, on the night of the 20th of November. General Greene was ordered by Gen. Washington with a detachment into New Jersey, to operate against Cornwallis. Lafayette, although his wound was not yet sufficiently healed to permit him to wear a boot, accompanied the expedition as a volunteer. At his own request, he was permitted by Gen.

Greene to reconnoitre Cornwallis, and make an attack, if circumstances justified. He discovered the enemy at Gloucester, opposite Philadelphia, about to cross over with the booty they had collected. The better to ascertain their position, he advanced upon a sandy point, near the mouth of a creek which empties into the Delaware at Gloucester. He was discovered by the enemy, and a detachment of dragoons was sent off to intercept him. The fear and confusion of his guide nearly occasioned his falling into the hands of the enemy. But eluding the dragoons by a back path, about two miles from the English camp, he came suddenly upon an outpost of four hundred Hessians with their cannon. Having only three hundred and fifty men, most of them militia, he immediately attacked the enemy, and the following is an account of the engagement, in a letter to General Washington, dated Haddenfield, 26th November, 1777 :

" After having spent the most part of the day to make myself well acquainted with the certainty of their motions, I came pretty late into the Gloucester road, between the two creeks. I had ten light horse with Mr. Lindsey, almost a hundred and fifty riflemen, under Colonel Butler, and two pickets of the militia, commanded by Colonels Hite and Ellis : my whole body was not three hundred. Colonel Armand, Colonel Laumoy, the chevaliers Duplessis and Gimat, were the Frenchmen who went with me. A scout of my men, with whom was Mr. Duplessis, to see how near were the first pickets from Gloucester, found at two miles and a half of it a strong post of three hundred and fifty Hessians with field pieces (what number I did know, by the unanimous deposition of their prisoners,) and engaged immediately. As my little reconnoitering party were all in fine spirits, I supported them. We pushed the Hessians more than an half mile from the place where was their main body, and we made them run very fast : British reinforcements came twice to them, but very far from recovering their ground, they went always back. The darkness of the night prevented us then to push that advantage, and, after standing upon the ground we had got, I ordered them to return very slow to Haddonfield. The enemy, knowing perhaps by our drums that we were not so near, came again to fire at us : but the brave Major Morris, with a part of his riflemen, sent them back, and pushed them very fast. I understand that they have had between twenty-five and thirty wounded, at least that number killed, among whom I am certain, is an officer ; some say more, and the prisoners told me they have lost the commandant of that body ; we got yet this day fourteen prisoners. I sent you the most moderate account I had from themselves. We left one single man killed, a lieutenant of militia, and only five of ours were wounded. Such is the account of our little entertainment, which is indeed much too long for the matter, but I take the greatest pleasure to let you know that the conduct of our soldiers is above all praises ;

I never saw men so merry, so spirited, so desirous to go on to the enemy, whatever forces they could have, as that small party was in this little fight. I found the riflemen above even their reputation, and the militia above all expectations I could have; I returned to them my very sincere thanks this morning. I wish that this little success of ours may please you, though a very trifling one, I find it very interesting on account of the behaviour of our soldiers.' \* \* \*

"I must tell, too, that the riflemen had been the whole day running before my horse, without eating or taking any rest.

"I have just now a certain assurance that two British officers, besides those I spoke you of, have died this morning of their wounds in an house; this, and some other circumstances, let me believe that their loss may be greater than I told to your excellency."

The decision of Congress in reference to assigning a command to Lafayette, was quickened by the intelligence of this action. The same day on which Gen. Washington's letter (last quoted) was received, they resolved, "that it would be highly agreeable to Congress for him to appoint the Marquis de Lafayette to the command of a division in the Continental army." Following promptly this expression, the Commander-in-chief, three days thereafter, appointed Gen. Lafayette to command the division of Virginia troops, recently commanded by Gen. Stephens. The character of Lafayette began to be well appreciated in America. The celebrated Patrick Henry, then governour of Virginia, in a letter to Gen. Washington, said: "I take the liberty of enclosing to you two letters from France to the Marquis de Lafayette. One of them is from his lady, I believe. I beg to be presented to him in the most acceptable manner. I greatly revere his person and amiable character."

The military operations of the year 1777, were drawing to a close. General Howe, having been reinforced by several regiments from New York, sought to bring on a general engagement. On the 4th of December, he left Philadelphia, with twelve thousand men, and the next morning took post at Chestnut Hill, about three miles to the right of the American encampment at Whitemarsh. The same night, they changed their ground, and moved to the left within a mile of the American line. Gen. Washington determined not to give the enemy any advantage, and to await in this position, their threatened attack. But he sent out light troops, which annoyed the enemy; and in these skirmishes Lafayette was engaged. Unable to gain

any advantage by his manœuvres, Gen. Howe, on the 8th, retreated with his whole force to Philadelphia. On the 11th, Gen. Washington, broke up his encampment at Whitemarsh, crossed the Schuylkill, and established his army, on the 20th December, in its winter quarters at Valley Forge, about twenty miles from Philadelphia.

The condition of the American army was at this time most deplorable. According to one historian the soldiers might be traced on their march from Whitemarsh to Valley Forge, by the blood of their feet, over the frozen ground! Gen. Washington himself stated, that out of a force of about eight thousand men, no less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men, then in camp, were unfit for duty, because they were barefoot and otherwise naked; and that for want of blankets, numbers were obliged "to sit up all night by fires, instead of taking comfortable rest in a natural and comfortable way." The situation of the army at that time is thus described by Lafayette :

"The unfortunate soldiers were in want of everything; they had neither coats, hats, shirts nor shoes; their feet and legs froze till they became black, and it was often necessary to amputate them. From want of money, they could neither obtain provisions nor any means of transport; the colonels were often reduced to two rations, and sometimes even to one. The army frequently remained whole days without provisions, and the patient endurance of both soldiers and officers was a miracle which each moment served to renew. But the sight of their misery prevented new engagements; it was almost impossible to levy recruits; it was easy to desert into the interior of the country. The sacred fire of liberty was not extinguished, it is true, and the majority of the citizens detested British tyranny; but the triumph of the north, and the tranquillity of the south, had lulled to sleep two-thirds of the continent."

In this trying crisis, Lafayette exhibited the utmost humanity, zeal and discretion. He was truly the soldier's friend, sympathizing with them, and endeavouring to alleviate their sufferings. In his intimate and friendly intercourse with the Commander-in-chief and his brother officers, he encouraged them by his example and unwavering spirit of devotion to the cause of the country, under their many and severe trials. "He adopted in every respect (he states,) the American dress, habits and food. He wished to be more simple, frugal, and austere, than the Americans themselves. Brought up in the lap of luxury, he suddenly

changed his whole manner of living, and his constitution bent itself to privations as well as to fatigue."

Lafayette was solicitous that the French government should acknowledge the independence of America, and aid it in the contest. His letters to his friends in France, and to the French ministers, were calculated and essentially contributed to hasten that result. He wrote to them in the most ardent and glowing terms, and with the pen of truth, of the American cause and character. The following extracts are taken from an interesting letter to the Duke D'Ayen, dated December 16th, 1777. In what page of history, in what document of the time, shall we find a more correct portrait, a tribute more just to the virtues of General WASHINGTON ? an expression of views more prophetick and correct, of sentiments more pure and patriotick ? After an interesting detail of military events, he says :

" The loss of Philadelphia is far from being so important as it is conceived to be in Europe. If the differences of circumstances, of countries, and of proportion between the two armies, were not duly considered, the success of General Gates would appear surprising when compared to the events that have occurred with us,—taking into account the superiority of General Washington over General Gates. Our general is a man formed, in truth, for this revolution, which could not have been accomplished without him. I see him more intimately than any other man, and I see that he is worthy of the adoration of his country. His tender friendship for me, and his complete confidence in me, relating to all military and political subjects, great as well as small, enable me to judge of all the interest he has to conciliate, and all the difficulties he has to conquer. I admire each day more fully the excellence of his character, and the kindness of his heart. Some foreigners are displeased at not having been employed, (although it did not depend on him to employ them)—others, whose ambitious projects he would not serve,—and some intriguing, jealous men, have endeavoured to injure his reputation ; but his name will be revered in every age, by all true lovers of liberty and humanity ; and although I may appear to be eulogising my friend, I believe that the part he makes me act, gives me the right of avowing publickly how much I admire and respect him. \* \* \*

" America is most impatiently expecting us to declare for her, and France will one day, I hope, determine to humble the pride of England. This hope, and the measures which America appears determined to pursue, give me great hopes for the glorious establishment of her independence. We are not, I confess, so strong as I expected, but we are strong enough to fight ; we shall do so, I trust, with some degree of success ; and, with the assistance of France, we shall gain, with costs, the cause that I cherish, because it is the cause of justice,—because it honours humanity,—because it is important to my country,

and because my American friends, and myself, are deeply engaged in it. The approaching campaign will be an interesting one. It is said that the English are sending us some Hanoverians; some time ago they threatened us with, what was far worse, the arrival of some Russians. A slight menace from France would lessen the number of these reinforcements. The more I see of the English, the more thoroughly convinced I am, that it is necessary to speak to them in a loud tone.

"After having wearied you with publick affairs, you must not expect to escape without being wearied also with my private affairs. It is impossible to be more agreeably situated than I am in a foreign country. I have only feelings of pleasure to express, and I have each day more reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Congress towards me, although my military occupations have allowed me to become personally acquainted with but few of its members. Those I do know have especially loaded me with marks of kindness and attention. The new president, Mr. Laurens, one of the most respectable men of America, is my particular friend. As to the army, I have had the happiness of obtaining the friendship of every individual; not one opportunity is lost of giving me proofs of it. I passed the whole summer without accepting a division, which you know had been my previous intention; I passed all that time at General Washington's house, where I felt as if I were with a friend of twenty years' standing. Since my return from Jersey, he has desired me to choose, amongst several brigades, the division which may please me best; but I have chosen one entirely composed of Virginians. It is weak in point of numbers at present, just in proportion, however, to the weakness of the whole army, and almost in a state of nakedness, but I am promised cloth, of which I shall make clothes, and recruits, of which soldiers must be made, about the same period; but, unfortunately, the last is the most difficult task, even for more skilful men than me. The task I am performing here, if I had acquired sufficient experience to perform it well, would improve exceedingly my future knowledge. The major-general replaces the lieutenant-general and the field-marshall, in their most important functions, and I should have the power of employing to advantage, both my talents and experience, if Providence and my extreme youth allowed me to boast of possessing either. I read, I study, I examine, I listen, I reflect, and the result of all is the endeavour at forming an opinion, into which I infuse as much common sense as possible. I will not talk much, for fear of saying foolish things; I will still less risk acting much, for fear of doing foolish things; for I am not disposed to abuse the confidence which the Americans have kindly placed in me. Such is the plan of conduct which I have followed until now, and which I shall continue to follow; but when some ideas occur to me, which I believe may become useful when properly rectified, I hasten to impart them to a great judge, who is good enough to say that he is pleased with them. On the other hand, when my heart tells me that a favourable opportunity offers, I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of participating in the peril, but I do not think that the vanity of success ought to make us risk the safety of an army, or of any portion of it, which may not be formed or calculated for the offensive. If I could make an axiom, with the

certainty of not saying a foolish thing, I should venture to add that, whatever may be our force, we must content ourselves with a completely defensive plan, with the exception, however, of the moment when we may be forced to action, because I think I have perceived that the English troops are more astonished by a brisk attack than by a firm resistance.

"This letter will be given you by the celebrated Adams, whose name must undoubtedly be known to you. As I have never allowed myself to quit the army, I have not been able to see him. He wished that I should give him letters of introduction to France, especially to yourself. May I hope that you will have the goodness of receiving him kindly, and even of giving him some information respecting the present state of affairs. I fancied you would not be sorry to converse with a man whose merit is so universally acknowledged. He desires ardently to succeed in obtaining the esteem of our nation. One of his friends himself told me so."

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## CHAPTER VII.

Dissensions, painful to Lafayette—Conway's Cabal—Lafayette remains faithful to Gen. Washington—Correspondence between them—Lafayette hears of the birth of a daughter—Determines to remain in America—Letter to Madame Lafayette—Expedition against Canada—Lafayette appointed to the command—Rebukes the enemies of Washington—Journey to Albany—Difficulties encountered—Letters to Gen. Washington—Lafayette's liberality—Visit to the Indian tribes—Letter to Baron Steuben—Expedition abandoned—Approving resolution of Congress—Lafayette returns to head-quarters—Conway's confession.

THE dissensions which were about this time manifested in Congress and in the army, gave much pain to Lafayette. They were not extensive, but assumed a temporary organization under an intrigue known in history as "Conway's Cabal." An account of it is given by Mr. Sparks, in the appendix, Vol. V., of the *Writings of Washington*. The principal authors of the cabal, were Generals Gates, Mifflin, and Conway, and its object was supposed to be, {to produce the removal or resignation of General Washington, and the appointment in his stead of General Gates, as Commander-in-chief of the Continental armies. It was so far successful as to induce the appointment of Conway as Inspector-General of the army, contrary to the advice of General Washington, and the institution by Congress of a

Board of War, to which large powers were granted, of which Gates and Mifflin were members, and Gates was made President. By acting contrary to his views, and without consulting him, this board occasioned to General Washington painful embarrassments.

Throughout the progress and development of this cabal, Lafayette remained the firm and zealous friend of Washington, in spite of strenuous efforts to shake his confidence and fidelity. In an early stage of it, he wrote to General Washington, dated 30th December, 1777.

"**MY DEAR GENERAL**,—I went yesterday morning to head-quarters with an intention of speaking to your excellency, but you were too busy, and I shall lay down in this letter what I wished to say.

"I don't need to tell you that I am sorry for all that has happened for some time past. It is a necessary dependence of my most tender and respectful friendship for you, which affection is as true and candid as the other sentiments of my heart, and much stronger than so new an acquaintance seems to admit; but another reason, to be concerned in the present circumstances, is my ardent and perhaps enthusiastick wishes for the happiness and liberty of this country. I see plainly that America can defend herself if proper measures are taken, and now I begin to fear lest she should be lost by herself and her own sons.

"When I was in Europe I thought that here almost every man was a lover of liberty, and would rather die free than live a slave. You can conceive my astonishment when I saw that toryism was as openly professed as whiggism itself: however, at that time I believed that all good Americans were united together; that the confidence of Congress in you was unbounded. Then I entertained the certitude that America would be independent in case she should not lose you. Take away, for an instant, that modest diffidence of yourself, (which, pardon my freedom, my dear General, is sometimes too great, and I wish you could know, as well as myself, what difference there is between you and any other man,) you would see very plainly that if you were lost for America, there is nobody who could keep the army and the revolution for six months. There are open dissensions in Congress, parties who hate one another as much as the common enemy; stupid men, who, without knowing a single word about war, undertake to judge you, to make ridiculous comparisons; they are infatuated with Gates, without thinking of the different circumstances, and believe that attacking is the only thing necessary to conquer. Those ideas are entertained in their minds by some jealous men, and perhaps secret friends to the British Government, who want to push you, in a moment of ill humour, to some rash enterprise upon the lines, or against a much stronger army. I should not take the liberty of mentioning these particulars to you if I did not receive a letter about this matter, from a young good-natured gentleman at York, whom Conway has ruined by his cunning, bad advice, but who entertains the greatest respect for you."

He speaks of the efforts Conway had used to influence him, and to induce him to leave the country, and concludes as follows :

“ My desire of deserving your approbation is stronger than ever, and everywhere you will employ me you can be certain of my trying every exertion in my power to succeed. I am now fixed to your fate, and I shall follow it and sustain it as well by my sword as by all means in my power. You will pardon my importunity in favour of the sentiment which dictated it. Youth and friendship make me, perhaps, too warm, but I feel the greatest concern at all that has happened for some time since.

“ With the most tender and profound respect, I have the honour to be, &c.”

To this letter, Gen. Washington thus replied :

“ *Head-quarters, December 31st, 1777.*

“ **MY DEAR MARQUIS**,—Your favour of yesterday conveyed to me fresh proof of that friendship and attachment, which I have happily experienced since the first of our acquaintance, and for which I entertain sentiments of the purest affection. It will ever constitute part of my happiness to know that I stand well in your opinion ; because I am satisfied that you can have no views to answer by throwing out false colours, and that you possess a mind too exalted to descend to low arts and intrigues to acquire a reputation. Happy, thrice happy, would it have been for this army and the cause we are embarked in, if the same generous spirit had pervaded all the actors in it. But one gentleman, whose name you have mentioned, had, I am confident, far different views ; his ambition and great desire of being puffed off, as one of the first officers of the age, could only be equalled by the means which he used to obtain them. But finding that I was determined not to go beyond the line of my duty to indulge him in the first—nor to exceed the strictest rules of propriety to gratify him in the second—he became my inveterate enemy ; and he has, I am persuaded, practised every art to do me an injury, even at the expense of reprobating a measure that did not succeed, that he himself advised to. How far he may have accomplished his ends, I know not ; and except for considerations of a publick nature, I care not ; for, it is well known, that neither ambitious nor lucrative motives, led me to accept my present appointments, in the discharge of which I have endeavoured to observe one steady and uniform system of conduct, which I shall invariably pursue, while I have the honour to command, regardless of the tongue of slander, or the powers of detraction. The fatal tendency of disunion is so obvious, that I have, in earnest terms, exhorted such officers as have expressed their dissatisfaction at General Conway’s promotion, to be cool and dispassionate in their decision about the matter ; and I have hopes that they will not suffer any hasty determination to injure the service. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that officers’ feelings upon these occasions are not to be restrained, although you may control their actions.

"The other observations contained in your letter have too much truth in them; and, it is much to be lamented, that things are not now as they formerly were. But we must not, in so great a contest, expect to meet with nothing but sunshine. I have no doubt that everything happens for the best, that we shall triumph over all our misfortunes, and, in the end, be happy: when, my dear marquis, if you will give me your company in Virginia, we will laugh at our past difficulties and the folly of others; and I will endeavour, by every civility in my power, to show you how much, and how sincerely, I am your affectionate and obedient servant."

This answer gave great satisfaction to Lafayette. In reply, he said:

"Every assurance and proof of your affection fills my heart with joy, because that sentiment of yours is extremely dear and precious to me. A tender and affectionate attachment for you, and an invariable frankness, will be found in my mind as you know me better; but, after those merits, I must tell you, that very few others are to be found. I never wished so heartily to be intrusted by nature with an immensity of talents as on this occasion; I could then be of some use to your glory and happiness, as well as to my own."

The discretion and popularity of Washington were proof against this cabal. It came to an end in the spring of 1778. Conway, its principal instrument, resigned his station in the army, and left the country in disgrace, after making a written acknowledgment to Gen. Washington, for the unjust part he had taken in the transaction.

The solicitude of Lafayette, as a husband and a father, was about this time relieved by intelligence of the birth of a daughter, his second child. It was natural, however, that under these circumstances, his thoughts should be directed towards home, and that his presence there should be desired and expected. But he determined to remain; and thus justified his noble and patriotick determination, in a letter, to Madame de Lafayette, dated—

"Camp, near Valley Forge, January 6th, 1778.

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"The bearer of this letter will describe to you the residence which I choose in preference to the happiness of being with you, with all my friends, in the midst of all possible enjoyments; in truth, my love, do you not believe that powerful reasons are requisite to induce a person to make such a sacrifice? Every thing combined to urge me to depart,—honour alone told me to remain; and when you learn in detail the circumstances in which I am placed, those in which the army, my friend, its commander, and the whole American cause were placed, you will not only forgive me, but you will excuse, and I may almost venture to say, applaud me. What a pleasure I shall

feel in explaining to you myself all the reasons of my conduct, and, in asking, whilst embracing you, a pardon, which I am very certain I shall then obtain ! But do not condemn me before hearing my defence. In addition to the reasons I have given you, there is one other reason which I would not relate to every one, because it might appear like affecting airs of ridiculous importance. My presence is more necessary at this moment to the American cause, than you can possibly conceive ; many foreigners, who have been refused employment, or whose ambitious views have been frustrated, have raised up some powerful cabals ; they have endeavoured, by every sort of artifice, to make me discontented with this revolution, and with him who is its chief : they have spread as widely as they could, the report that I was quitting the continent. The English have proclaimed also, loudly, the same intention on my side. I cannot in conscience appear to justify the malice of these people. If I were to depart, many Frenchmen who are useful here would follow my example. General Washington would feel very unhappy if I were to speak of quitting him ; his confidence in me is greater than I dare acknowledge, on account of my youth. In the place he occupies, he is liable to be surrounded by flatterers or secret enemies : he finds in me a secure friend, in whose bosom he may always confide his most secret thoughts, and who will always speak the truth. Not one day passes without his holding long conversations with me, writing me long letters, and he has the kindness to consult me on the most important matters. A peculiar circumstance is occurring at this moment which renders my presence of some use to him : this is not the time to speak of my departure. I am also at present engaged in an interesting correspondence with the President of Congress. The desire to debase England, to promote the advantage of my own country, and the happiness of humanity, which is strongly interested in the existence of one perfectly free nation, all induces me not to depart at the moment when my absence might prove injurious to the cause I have embraced. The General, also, after a slight success in Jersey, requested me, with the unanimous consent of Congress, to accept a division in the army, and to form it according to my own judgement, as well as my feeble resources might permit ; I ought not to have replied to such a mark of confidence, by asking what were his commissions for Europe."

The "interesting correspondence with the President of Congress," to which Lafayette alludes in the foregoing letters, related to a projected expedition against Canada. This expedition is said to have been planned by General Gates, adopted by the new Board of War, and approved of by Congress, without the least consultation on the subject with Gen. Washington. Lafayette was appointed to the command, with the title of General of the Northern army, January 22d, 1778, with the principal design, as he himself suspected, of removing him from the presence, and detaching him from the interests and confidence of the Com-

mander-in-chief. That these, and kindred efforts proved abortive—that his friendship and fidelity could not be shaken—are the most honourable traits in the character, the brightest incidents in the life, of Lafayette. The first knowledge Gen. Washington had of the plan, was communicated to him by Gen. Gates, in a letter which enclosed another for Lafayette, containing a commission, independent of the Commander-in-chief, with orders to repair to Congress for further instructions. Gen Washington placed the communication in Lafayette's hands, with the simple remark: "I prefer its being for you rather than for any other person."

Like a true Frenchman, Lafayette was anxious to see the ancient French colony wrested from the hands of its British conquerors. The appointment to command an expedition against Canada, therefore, although the prospects of its success were not propitious, was personally gratifying to him. But determined to take no course which should be disrespectful to the feelings or authority of General Washington, he hesitated to accept the appointment; and declared at once to three Commissioners of Congress, who were then in the camp "that he would never accept of a command independent of the General, and that the title of his aid-de-camp appeared to him preferable to any other that could be offered." General Washington, however, although he had little confidence in the success of the expedition at that season of the year, advised Lafayette to accept the appointment, as an honourable station, in which, whatever might be the result, he could not fail to acquit himself with credit. He therefore repaired to Yorktown, to make the necessary arrangements with the Board of War. On his arrival there, he found Gen. Gates, seated at the dinner table, in his own house, surrounded by a large party of his friends. He was received with cordiality, joined them at the table, and when the wine passed round, and toasts were given, and the glasses were filled for the toast of Lafayette, he gave, "The Commander-in-chief of the American armies!" to the no small confusion of those present, who were obliged out of complaisance to drink it. Conway had been appointed under Lafayette, with the intention of his being second in command; but Lafayette insisted that the Baron de Kalb should accompany him, who being higher

in rank, became second in command, instead of Conway. This, and all that he required for the expedition was granted; and it was promised on the part of Gen. Gates, that there should be no deficiency of supplies, either as to men or means. His instructions from the war office (he states,) promised that 2500 men should be assembled at Albany, and a large corps of militia at Coos; that he should have two millions in paper money, some specie, and all means supplied for crossing Lake Champlain upon the ice, whence after having burnt the English flotilla, he was to proceed to Montreal, and act there as circumstances might require."

Under these instructions and promises, the young commander of the North, not yet 20 years of age, set out in the dead of winter, upon his Canada expedition. But he says, writing to Madame Lafayette, previous to his departure, "The idea of rendering the whole of New France free; and of delivering her from a heavy yoke, is too glorious for me to allow myself to dwell upon. The progress of his journey, and his feelings, are thus expressed in a letter written by the way, to Gen. Washington :

"Hemingtown, the 9th February, 1778.

"DEAR GENERAL,—I cannot let go my guide without taking this opportunity of writing to your excellency, though I have not yet publick business to speak of. I go on very slowly; sometimes drenched by rain, and sometimes covered by snow, and not entertaining many handsome thoughts about the projected incursion into Canada; if success were to be had, it would surprise me in a most agreeable manner by that very reason that I don't expect any shining ones. Lake Champlain is too cold for producing the least bit of laurel, and if I am not starved I shall be as proud as if I had gained three battles.

"Mr. Duer had given to me a rendezvous at a tavern, but nobody was to be found there. I fancy that he will be with Mr. Conway sooner than he has told me; they will perhaps conquer Canada before my arrival, and I expeet to meet them at the governour's house in Quebec.

"Could I believe, for one single instant, that this pompous command of *a northern army* will let your excellency forget a little us absent friends, then I would send the project to the place it comes from. But I dare hope that you will remember me sometimes. I wish you very heartily, the greatest publick and private happiness and success. It is a very melancholy idea for me that I cannot follow your fortunes as near your person as I could wish; but my heart will take very sincerely, its part of every thing which can happen to you, and I am already thinking of the agreeable moment when I may come down to assure your excellency of the most tender affection and highest respect. I have the honour to be, &c."

On arriving at Albany, Lafayette found the state of affairs very different from what he had been led to anticipate; and he unburdened his mind by a full statement, in the following letters to Gen. Washington :

*“ Albany, the 19th February, 1778.*

“ DEAR GENERAL,—Why am I so far from you and what business had the board of war to hurry me through the ice and snow without knowing what I should do, neither what they were doing themselves? You have thought, perhaps, that their project would be attended with some difficulty, that some means had been neglected, that I could not obtain all the success and that immensity of laurels which they had promised to me; but I defy your excellency to conceive any idea of what I have seen since I left the place where I was quiet and near my friends, to run myself through all the blunders of madness or treachery (God knows what). Let me begin the journal of my fine and glorious campaign.”

“ According to Lord Stirling’s advice, I went by Corich-ferry to Ringo’s tavern, where Mr. Duer had given me a rendezvous; but there no Duer was to be found, and they did never hear from him. From thence I proceeded by the state of New York, and had the pleasure of seeing the friends of America as warm in their love for the Commander-in-chief as his best friend could wish. I spoke to Governour Clinton, and was much satisfied with that gentleman. At length I met Albany, the 17th, though I was not expected before the 25th. General Conway had been here only three days before me, and I must confess I found him very active and looking as if he had good intentions; but we know a great deal upon that subject. His first word has been that the expedition is quite impossible. I was at first very diffident of this report, but have found that he was right. Such is, at least, the idea I can form of this ill-concerted operation within these two days.

“ General Schuyler, General Lincoln, General Arnold, had written, before my arrival, to General Conway, in the most expressive terms, that, in our present circumstances, there was no possibility to begin, now, an enterprise into Canada. Hay, deputy quarter-master-general; Cuyler, deputy commissary-general; Mearsin, deputy clothier-general, in what they call the northern department, are entirely of the same opinion. Colonel Hazen, who has been appointed to a place which interferes with the three others above mentioned, was the most desirous of going there. The reasons of such an order I think I may attribute to other motives. The same Hazen confesses we are not strong enough to think of the expedition in this moment. As to the troops, they are disgusted, and (if you except some Hazen’s Canadians) reluctant, to the utmost degree, to begin a winter incursion in a so cold country. I have consulted everybody, and everybody answers me that it would be madness to undertake this operation.

“ I have been deceived by the board of war; they have, by the strongest expressions, promised to me one thousand, and (what is more to be depended upon) they have assured to me in writing, *two thousand and five hundred combatants, at a low estimate.* Now, Sir, I do not

believe I can find, *in all*, twelve hundred fit for duty, and most part of those very men are naked, even for a summer's campaign. I was to find General Stark with a large body, and indeed General Gates had told to me, *General Stark will have burnt the fleet before your arrival*. Well, the first letter I receive in Albany is from General Stark, who wishes to know *what number of men, from whence, for what time, for what rendezvous, I desire him to raise*. Colonel Biveld, who was to rise too, would have done something *had he received money*. One asks, what encouragement his people will have, the other has no clothes; not one of them has received a dollar of what was due to them. I have applied to every body, I have begged at every door I could these two days, and I see that I could do something were the expedition to be begun in five weeks. But you know we have not an hour to lose, and indeed it is now rather too late, had we every thing in readiness.

"There is a spirit of dissatisfaction prevailing among the soldiers, and even the officers, which is owing to their not being paid for some time since. This department is much indebted, and as near as I can ascertain, for so short a time, I have already discovered near eight hundred thousand dollars due to the continental troops, some militia, the quarter-master's department, &c. &c. &c. It was with four hundred thousand dollars, only the half of which is arrived to day, that I was to undertake the operation, and satisfy the men under my commands. I send to Congress the account of those debts. Some clothes, by Colonel Hazen's activity, are arrived from Boston, but not enough by far, and the greatest part is cut off.

"We have had intelligence from a deserter, who makes the enemy stronger than I thought. There is no such thing *as straw on board the vessels to burn them*. I have sent to Congress a full account of the matter; I hope it will open their eyes. What they will resolve upon I do not know, but I think I must wait here for their answer. I have enclosed to the president, copies of the most important letters I had received. It would be tedious for your excellency, were I to undertake the minutest detail of everything; it will be sufficient to say that the want of men, clothes, money, and the want of time, deprives me of all hopes as to this excursion. If it may begin again in the month of June, by the east, I cannot venture to assure; but for the present moment such is the idea I conceive of the famous incursion, as far as I may be informed, in a so short time.

"Your excellency may judge that I am very distressed by this disappointment. My being appointed to the command of the expedition is known through the continent, it will be soon known in Europe, as I have been desired by members of Congress, to write to my friends; my being at the head of an army, people will be in great expectations, and what shall I answer?

"I am afraid it will reflect on my reputation, and I shall be laughed at. My fears upon that subject are so strong, that I would choose to become again only a volunteer, unless Congress offers the means of mending this ugly business by some glorious operation; but I am very far from giving to them the least notice upon that matter. General Arnold seems very fond of a diversion against New York, and he is too sick to take the field before four or five months. I should

be happy if something was proposed to me in that way, but I will never ask, nor even seem desirous of anything directly from Congress; for you, dear general, I know very well, that you will do every thing to procure me the only thing I am ambitious of—glory.

“I think your excellency will approve of my staying here till further orders, and of my taking the liberty of sending my despatches to Congress by a very quick occasion, without going through the hands of my general; but I was desirous to acquaint them early of my disagreeable and ridiculous situation.

“With the greatest affection and respect, I have the honour to be, &c.”

“ *The 23d February, 1778.* ”

“ **DEAR GENERAL**,—I have an opportunity of writing to your excellency which I will not miss by any means, even should I be afraid of becoming tedious and troublesome; but if they have sent me far from you, I don’t know for what purpose, at least I must make some little use of my pen, to prevent all communication from being cut off between your excellency and myself. I have written lately to you my distressing, ridiculous, foolish, and indeed, nameless situation. I am sent with a great noise, at the head of an army for doing great things; the whole continent, France and Europe herself, and what is the worse, the British army, are in great expectations. How far they will be deceived, how far we shall be ridiculed, you may judge by the candid account you have got of the state of our affairs.

“ There are things, I dare say, in which I am deceived—a certain colonel is not here for nothing; one other gentleman became very popular before I went to this place; Arnold himself is very fond of him. Every part on which I turn to look I am sure a cloud is drawn before my eyes; however, there are points I cannot be deceived upon. The want of money, the dissatisfaction among the soldiers, the disinclination of every one (except the Canadians who mean to stay at home) for this expedition, are as conspicuous as possible; however, I am sure I will become very ridiculous, and laughed at. *My expedition* will be as famous as the *secret expedition* against Rhode Island. I confess, my dear general, that I find myself of very quick feelings whenever my reputation and glory are concerned in anything. It is very hard indeed that such a part of my happiness, without which I cannot live, should depend upon schemes which I never knew of but when there was no time to put them into execution. I assure you, my most dear and respected friend, that I am more unhappy than I ever was.

“ My desire for doing something was such, that I have thought of doing it by surprise with a detachment, but it seems to me rash and quite impossible. I should be very happy if you were here to give me some advice; but I have nobody to consult with. They have sent to me more than twenty French officers; I do not know what to do with them: I beg you will acquaint me the line of conduct you advise me to follow on every point. I am at a loss how to act, and indeed I do not know what I am here for myself. However, as being the eldest officer, (after General Arnold has desired me to take the

command,) I think it is my duty to mind the business of this part of America as well as I can. General Gates holds yet the title and power of Commander-in-chief of the Northern department; but, as two hundred thousand dollars are arrived, I have taken upon myself to pay the most necessary part of the debts we are involved in. I am about sending provisions to Fort Schuyler; I will go to see the fort. I will try to get some clothes for the troops, to buy some articles for the next campaign. I have directed some money to be borrowed upon my credit to satisfy the troops, who are much discontented. In all I endeavour to do for the best, though I have no particular authority or instructions; and I will come as near as I can to General Gates' intentions, but I want much to get an answer to my letters.

"I fancy (between us) that the actual scheme is to have me out of this part of the continent, and General Conway in chief, under the immediate direction of General Gates. How they will bring it up I do not know, but you may be sure something of that kind will appear. You are nearer than myself, and every honest man in Congress is your friend; therefore you may foresee and prevent, if possible, the evil, a hundred times better than I can; I would only give that idea to your excellency.

"After having written in Europe (by the desire of the members of Congress) so many fine things about my commanding an army, I shall be ashamed if nothing can be done by me in that way. I am told General Putnam is recalled: but your excellency knows better than I do what would be convenient, therefore I don't want to mind these things myself.

"Will you be so good as to present my respects to your lady. With the most tender affection and highest respect, I have the honour to be,

LAFAYETTE."

To these letters Gen. Washington replied:

"*Head-quarters, 10th March, 1778.*

"**MY DEAR MARQUIS**,—I have had the pleasure of receiving your two favours of the 19th and 23d of February, and hasten to dispel those fears respecting your reputation, which are excited only by an uncommon degree of sensibility. You seem to apprehend that censure proportioned to the disappointed expectations of the world, will fall on you in consequence of the failure of the Canadian expedition. But, in the first place, it will be no disadvantage to you to have it known in Europe that you had received so manifest a proof of the good opinion and confidence of Congress as an important detached command; and I am persuaded that every one will applaud your prudence in renouncing a project, in pursuing which you would vainly have attempted physical impossibilities; indeed, unless you can be chargeable with the invariable effects of natural causes, and be arraigned for not suspending the course of the seasons, to accommodate your march over the lake, the most prompt to slander can have nothing to found blame upon.

"However sensibly your ardour for glory may make you feel this disappointment, you may be assured that your character stands as fair as ever it did, and that no new enterprise is necessary to wipe off

this imaginary stain. The expedition which you hint at I think unavoidable in our present circumstances. Anything in the way of a formal attack, which would necessarily be announced to the enemy by preparatory measures, would not be likely to succeed. If a stroke is meditated in that quarter, it must be effected by troops stationed at a proper distance for availing themselves of the first favourable opportunity offered by the enemy, and success would principally depend upon the suddenness of the attempt. This, therefore, must rather be the effect of time and chance than premeditation. You undoubtedly have determined judiciously in waiting the further orders of Congress. Whether they allow me the pleasure of seeing you shortly, or destine you to a longer absence, you may assure yourself of the sincere good wishes of,

Dear Sir, &c.

“P. S. Your directing payment of such debts as appear to be most pressing is certainly right. There is not money enough to answer every demand; and I wish your supplies of clothing had been better. Your ordering a large supply of provisions into Fort Schuyler was a very judicious measure, and I thank you for it.”

Under these circumstances, Lafayette deemed it rash to proceed; and his prudence was highly approved of by all who were attached to the expedition. Mr. Duane, writing to Gov. Clinton, said of Lafayette: “His zeal for this country, of which he has given marks, even to enthusiasm, and his ardent desire of glory, leave him to wish the expedition practicable, but he is too considerate to pursue it rashly, or without probable grounds for a successful issue. I must mention to your excellency a circumstance which shows the liberality of his disposition. He determined, on his entering into Canada, to supply his army through his own private bills on France, to the amount of five or six thousand guineas, and to present that sum to Congress, as a proof of his love to America and the rights of human nature.”

While awaiting the decision of Congress, Lafayette adopted measures to conciliate the Indian tribes. He attended with Gen. Schuyler and Col. Duane, superintendents of Indian affairs in that quarter, a council at Johnstown, at which five hundred Indians, men, women, and children, in savage costume, covered with various coloured paints and feathers, with their ears cut open, their noses ornamented with rings, and their half naked bodies marked with different figures, were present. Lafayette reminded them of their former friendship with the French. He distributed to them money, in gold pieces, and goods, and was adopted into their tribe under the name of *Kayewla*, which formerly be-

longed to one of their warriours, and under this name he was afterwards known to the Indians, over all the tribes of which he exercised a beneficial influence, in all the negotiations which became necessary during the remainder of the war.

Nor did he neglect any opportunity to express his friendship for the Commander-in-chief ; to render justice to his character, and to strengthen the confidence of the army in that great and good man, upon whom so essentially depended the destinies, the existence, the liberties, of his country. In a letter to Baron de Steuben, dated at Albany, March 12, he says :

“ Permit me to express my satisfaction at your having seen General Washington. No enemies to that great man can be found except among the enemies to his country ; nor is it possible for any man of a noble spirit to refrain from loving the excellent qualities of his heart. I think I know him as well as any person, and such is the idea which I have formed of him ; his honesty, his frankness, his sensibility, his virtue, to the full extent in which this word can be understood, are above all praise. It is not for me to judge of his military talents ; but, according to my imperfect knowledge of these matters, his advice in council has always appeared to me the best, although his modesty prevents him sometimes from sustaining it ; and his predictions have generally been fulfilled. I am the more happy in giving you this opinion of my friend with all the sincerity which I feel, because some persons may perhaps attempt to deceive you on this point.”

The Baron Steuben was a Prussian officer who had recently arrived in the United States and repaired to the camp at Valley Forge. He came with ample recommendations. He had served in the armies of the Great Frederick, and it is well known that as a disciplinarian he rendered important services to this country during the remainder of the revolutionary war.

At length on the 7th of March, in conformity to representations of Lafayette and others, Congress resolved to instruct the Marquis de Lafayette to suspend the expedition into Canada, and at the same time to assure him, “ that Congress entertain a high sense of his prudence, activity and zeal, and that they are fully persuaded nothing has or would have been wanting on his part, or on the part of the officers who accompanied him, to give the expedition the utmost possible effect. On the 20th March, Gen. Washington wrote to Lafayette, desiring him, in pursuance to a resolve of Congress of the 13th, “ without loss of time to return to the

camp, to resume the command of a division of this army, and that you will communicate a similar order to Major-General de Kalb." He therefore returned to Head-quarters, at Valley Forge, and resumed the command of his division, the first week in April. Baron de Kalb soon followed. Conway was therefore left in command at Albany. Shortly after, however, in a fit of passion and arrogance he intimated to Congress a wish to resign. Congress, by this time acquainted with his character, resolved that his resignation be accepted, and he was succeeded in the office of inspector-general by Baron Steuben. He repaired to Philadelphia, and being severely wounded in a duel with an American officer, Gen. Cadwallader, supposing himself at the point of death, he wrote to Gen. Washington, (July 23d, 1778,) expressing sincere grief for what he had done, written, and said against him. "My career, (he wrote,) will soon be over; therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration and esteem of these states, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues." Contrary to expectation, he recovered from his wound, and soon after returned in disgrace to France. Not a vestige was henceforth left of the "Conway Cabal," and Lafayette participated with Washington in the triumph of virtue and integrity, over ambition and intrigue.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

Preparations for the Campaign of 1778—Influence abroad of Lafayette's example—American commissioners in Paris—Policy of the French government—Favourable impressions in Europe—Joy in France at American success—Prospects of an alliance—Lord North's Conciliatory Bills—Treatise between France and the United States—Celebration of this event—New oath of allegiance—Administered by Lafayette—Objection by Woodford's brigade—Obviated by Lafayette—Campaign commences—Affair of Barren Hill—Masterly retreat of Lafayette—Its importance—Anxiety of General Washington—Lafayette's affection—Death of his daughter—Letter thereon—The domestic and social virtues commended.

AMIDST the suffering of the army at Valley Forge, in the winter of 1777-8, Gen. Washington had diligently de-

vised measures, not only to relieve present sufferings, but for future and efficient operations. He consulted with the officers of the army, and took their opinions in writing. He urged the consideration of the subject earnestly upon Congress. A committee of five members of that body repaired to the camp, with full powers to consult with the Commander-in-chief; and the outlines of a new and improved system of operations were recommended to, and finally adopted by Congress. The several states lent their co-operation; and the prospects which brightened upon the American army in the spring of 1778, were harbingers of the successes which were to follow.

The example of Lafayette in openly espousing the American cause, and quitting his kindred and country to fight its battles, contrary to the wishes and policy of his government; the account of his reception and the brilliant commencement of his military career, had produced in France a favourable influence, which co-operated with the efforts of the American commissioners, Deane, Franklin and Lee, in our behalf. The French people naturally sympathized with those of America. It was the policy of the French government to embrace every opportunity of humbling the pride and power of Great-Britain; and she had been hitherto restrained from openly espousing the cause of the Colonies, from a doubt of their intention and ability to maintain their independence. Not only in France but throughout Europe, the capture of Burgoyne's army, and the attacks of Gen. Washington upon the British army at Brandywine and Germantown, evidences of unexpected skill and valour, produced a great and favourable sensation. The commissioners stated, under date of Dec. 18th, 1777, that the news of Burgoyne's defeat and surrender, "apparently occasioned as much general joy in France, as if it had been a victory of their own troops, over their own enemies; such is the universal, warm, and sincere good will and attachment to us and our cause in this nation." On the next day, (Dec. 19,) Mr. Lee wrote to Samuel Adams: "The last ray of British splendour is passing away, and the American sun is emerging in full glory from the clouds which obscured it. *His most Christian majesty has assured us, in the most explicit terms, that he will enter into a treaty with us as soon as the courier returns from Spain;*

and will maintain our independence with arms if necessary. The only stipulation he requires, is, that we shall not renounce our independence when we make peace ; a condition to which I believe we have no insuperable objection or reluctance."

It was doubtless the anticipation or knowledge of such an event, which induced Lord North to recommend, and the British parliament to adopt, his famous "*Conciliatory Bills*," for settling the difficulties with the revolted colonies. They proposed a relaxation in the system of taxation, and the "granting of pardon," to those who would submit, on the proposed conditions—but neither a reparation of past wrongs, nor the acknowledgment of independence. Three commissioners, Lord Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and William Eden, arrived in New York about the middle of April, authorized to negotiate on the basis of these bills. The bills were printed and widely circulated, for the insidious purpose of creating disaffection among the people of the colonies. The commissioners repaired first to the Headquarters of Gen. Washington, and from thence despatched their papers to Congress, who promptly resolved not to negotiate upon the terms proposed.

Ten days thereafter, on the 2d of May, despatches were received by Congress, communicating the acknowledgment by France of the independence of the United States, in treaties of amity and commerce, and of defensive alliance, entered into by the American commissioners at Paris and the French government, on the 6th of February.

This intelligence was received in the armies, and throughout the continent, with every demonstration of joy. The army at Valley Forge were anxious to manifest their joy upon the occasion ; and, on the 5th of May, Washington issued the following general orders :

*"Head Quarters, Camp, Valley Forge, }  
May 5th, 1778, }*

" It having pleased the Almighty Ruler of the universe propitiously to defend the cause of the United American States, and finally, by raising us up a powerful friend among the Princes of the Earth, to establish our liberty and independence on a lasting foundation ; it becomes us to set apart a day for gratefully acknowledging the divine goodness, and celebrating the important event which we owe to His benign interposition.

" The several brigades are to be assembled for this purpose at nine

o'clock to-morrow morning, when their Chaplains will communicate the intelligence contained in the Postscript to the Pennsylvania Gazette of the second instant, and offer up a thanksgiving, and deliver a discourse suitable to the occasion.

"At half past ten o'clock a cannon will be fired, which is to be a signal for the men to be under arms. The Brigade Inspectors will then inspect their dress and arms, form the battalions according to the instructions given them, and announce to the commanding officers of brigades that the battalions are formed. The brigadiers and commandants will then appoint the field officers to command the battalions; after which, each battalion will be ordered to load and ground their arms.—At half past eleven, another cannon will be fired as a signal for the march; on which the several brigades will begin their march by wheeling to the right by platoons, and proceed by the nearest way to the left of their ground, in the new position that will be pointed out by the Brigade Inspectors.—A third signal will be given, on which there will be a discharge of thirteen cannon; when the thirteenth has fired, a running fire of the infantry will begin on the right of Woodford's and continue throughout the whole front line; it will then be taken up on the left of the second line and continue to the right—on a signal given, the whole army will huzza—*Long live the King of France!*

"The artillery will then begin again, and fire thirteen rounds. This will be succeeded by a second general discharge of the musketry in a running fire—*Huzza! long live the friendly European Powers!* Then the last discharge of thirteen pieces of artillery will be given, followed by a general running fire—*Huzza for the American States!*"

These orders were executed with spirited and splendid effect. The Commander-in-chief gave a publick dinner, at which all the officers of the army were present. As the representative of France in the army of America, Lafayette took a conspicuous part in these demonstrations; and to no one did the event commemorated, afford greater and more honourable satisfaction.

As a renewed pledge of the independence of America, Congress had, (Feb. 3d, 1778,) prescribed the following oath of allegiance and abjuration, which was to be taken by all officers, civil and military: "I do acknowledge the United States of America to be free, independent, and sovereign states, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, King of Great Britain; and I renounce, refuse, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him, and I do swear (or affirm,) that I will to the utmost of my power, support, maintain, and defend the United States against the said King George the Third and his heirs and successors, and his and their abettors, assistants, and adherents, and will serve the United States in

the office which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding."

This oath had been administered by Gen. Lafayette to the officers of the northern army, previous to his leaving Albany. The administration of it in the army at Valley Forge, had been, from the state of the army and what were deemed "strong reasons," deferred until after the intelligence of the treaties with France was received. In administering the oath to a portion of his division, Lafayette experienced some difficulty. Twenty-six of the officers of Gen. Woodford's brigade, declined taking the oath, and presented a remonstrance to Lafayette, containing their reasons. This paper was submitted by Lafayette to Gen. Washington, asking his further instructions. In reply, (May 17th,) Gen. Washington said : " I thank you much for the courteous delicacy used in communicating the matter to me. As every oath should be a free act of the mind, founded on the conviction of its propriety, I would not wish in any instance, that there should be the least degree of compulsion exercised ; nor to interpose my opinion, in order to induce any to make it of whom it is required. The gentlemen, therefore, who signed the paper, will use their own discretion in the matter, and swear, or not swear, as their consciences and feelings dictate." At the same time, he briefly justified the tenour of the oath and the propriety of taking it. These noble sentiments of toleration, with the delicate persuasions of Lafayette, had their effect ; and the next day, (May 18,) Lafayette writes to the Commander-in-chief : " I have taken the oath of the gentlemen in Gen. Woodford's brigade, and the certificates have been sent to the Adjutant-General's office."

The alliance with France, was generally considered as decisive of the independence of America ; and fears were entertained by discreet men, that Congress and the Commander-in-chief, would relax in their military preparations. Such, however, was not the case. These preparations were continued with increased energy, and it was earnestly recommended to every state to complete its quota of continental troops, and to hold its militia ready for service. The committee of foreign affairs in Congress, writing to the American commissioners in Paris, May 14, say :—

" Our affairs have now a universally good appearance. Every thing at home and abroad, seems verging towards a happy and per-

manent period. We are preparing for either war or peace; for although we are fully persuaded that our enemies are wearied, beaten, and in despair, yet we shall not presume too much on that belief; and the rather, as it is our fixed determination to admit no terms of peace, but such as are fully in character with the dignity of independent states, and consistent with the spirit and intention of our alliances on the continent of Europe."

The British ministry, however, in its obstinacy and folly, was resolved to continue the war. Immediately on hearing of the treaties of the United States with France, hostilities had been commenced against that power.

The British army, under Sir William Howe, had occupied Philadelphia during the winter and until late in the month of May, without attempting any enterprise, corresponding to the superiority of their force. They had confined their operations to depredating on the inhabitants of the surrounding country, without attempting to molest Gen. Washington, whose encampment was within twenty miles of the city. The British force in Philadelphia was at this time about nineteen thousand; while the American army at Valley Forge, numbered on the 8th of May, only eleven thousand eight hundred. Sir Henry Clinton had succeeded Sir William Howe in the command at Philadelphia, and the vigilance of General Washington had discovered indications of the enemy's intention to evacuate that city.

On the 18th of May, Lafayette was detached by Gen. Washington, with a valuable corps of about two thousand men, and five pieces of cannon. The purposes, as stated in the instructions, were, "to be a security to this camp, and a cover to the country, between the Delaware and Schuylkill, to intercept the communication with Philadelphia, to obstruct the incursions of the enemy's parties, and to obtain intelligence of their motions and designs." "You will remember (says the instructions,) that your detachment is a very valuable one, and that any accident happening to it, would be a severe blow to the army; you will therefore use every possible precaution for its security, and to guard against a surprise." Having marched agreeably to these instructions, Lafayette took post at Barren Hill, on the south side of the Schuylkill, about equal distance, ten miles, from Valley Forge and Philadelphia. His position was well chosen, his right resting upon some rocky precipices and the river, his left on some woods and strong stone houses.

Five pieces of cannon were in front, and a few yards in advance of his left wing were Capt. M'Lane's company, and about fifty Indians. He had stationed videttes on the roads leading to Philadelphia, and directed those towards Whitemarsh to be watched by six hundred Pennsylvania militia. Intelligence of Lafayette's movements and position were communicated by a spy to the British commander in Philadelphia; who is stated by Lafayette and Marshall, to have been Gen. Howe, and in Washington's Writings, by Mr. Sparks, to have been Gen. Clinton. We have consulted all, and copy something of our account from each, and also from Chastellux. Gen. Howe, (and Marshall states it to have been his last act as commander of the British forces in Philadelphia,) immediately formed a plan of surprising Lafayette. So confident was Howe, that he should take the marquis, that he invited some ladies to meet him the next day at supper, and while the principal part of the officers were at the theatre, [the English had brought with them from New York a company of players, and the officers themselves frequently performed the principal characters,] he put in movement the main body of his forces, which he marched in three columns. One of these, with five thousand select troops under General Grant, took the road which leads up the Delaware, diverging from Barren Hill, and passing Whitemarsh, reached a position about a mile in rear of Lafayette, between him and Valley Forge, a little before sunrise. Here the roads fork, the one leading to the camp of Lafayette, and the other to Martin's Ford, over the Schuylkill. Another strong detachment, under Gen. Gray, advanced up the Schuylkill on its south side along the ridge road, and took post at a ford, in front of the right flank of Lafayette. The other and main column, supposed to have been commanded by Gen. Howe in person, took the direct road, passing by Schuylkill Falls and along the river, to Barren Hill.

On the morning of the 20th, while Lafayette was conversing with a girl, who had consented to go into Philadelphia for intelligence, under pretence of visiting her relations, he was informed that a body of dragoons, dressed in red, had been seen at Whitemarsh. He at first supposed they were a detachment of American dragoons, in red uniform,

which he had expected to join him in that direction. This impression was the more natural, as he supposed the Pennsylvania militia still occupied the road to Whitemarsh; but they had changed their position without his knowledge, and left this important pass open to the enemy. He was soon undeceived, and found that the three columns of the enemy were marching upon him in all directions. A ludicrous diversion took place in this critical moment. The fifty savages whom Lafayette had with him, had been placed in ambush, after their own fashion, lying close to the ground as rabbits. Fifty English dragoons, who had never seen an Indian, marching at the head of the column, entered the woods where they were hid. A mutual fright took place. The Indians, starting up, raised a horrible yell, threw down their arms, and escaped across the Schuylkill. The dragoons on the other hand, as much terrified as the Indians, turned about their horses, and did not recover their panick until they got back to Philadelphia.

Lafayette comprehended at once his danger, and that his only course was a retreat. He manifested, however, great presence of mind, and, as was seen in the sequel, unparalleled skill and bravery. Learning that Swede's Ford, on the direct road to Valley Forge, was in possession of the enemy, he commenced a quick march, but in the most complete order, to Matson's Ford. General Grant occupied the heights, beneath which lay the road over which Lafayette was to pass, and which was partially concealed by woods. In order to deceive Grant into a belief that he was marching to attack him, instead of retreating, he detached several small parties, with orders to exhibit themselves at several points, as heads of columns. Grant, supposing from the exhibition of these false heads of columns, that the whole army was in the rear, halted his troops and prepared for an attack. Improving the time thus gained, Lafayette reached Matson's Ford; his heads of columns, gradually fell back and joined him: the whole army passed safe over, took possession of the high grounds, on the other side of the river, and formed in the order of battle. When the English columns, thus out-generalized, came up, they found Lafayette so advantageously posted that they did not dare to attack him. "The English (says Chastellux,) finding the bird flown, returned

to Philadelphia, spent with fatigue, and ashamed of having done nothing. The ladies did not see M. de Lafayette, and General Howe himself arrived too late for supper."



RETREAT OF BARREN HILL.

This affair was designated by Gen. Washington in his communication to Congress, as a "timely and handsome retreat." Its importance may be appreciated from the fact, that the detachment comprised some of the choicest, and about one third, of the troops constituting the efficient force of the army of Valley Forge. The danger with which it was threatened, was perceived from the camp, soon after it was communicated to Lafayette. Alarm guns were fired to announce it to him, and the whole army was put under arms, to act as circumstances might require. Marshall says, he was then in camp, and saw the Commander-in-chief, accompanied by his aids and some general officers, ride, soon after sunrise, to the summit of the hill, on the side of which the huts were constructed, and look anxiously towards the scene of action, through a glass. He witnessed, too, the joy with which they returned after the detachment had crossed the Schuylkill. Lafayette returning to the camp the same day with his detachment, having accomplished the purposes of the expedition, was welcomed with like demonstrations of joy, and received the approbation and thanks of Gen. Washington. His whole loss was nine men ; that of the enemy was much greater.

While these brilliant events were occurring, Lafayette

had received the afflicting domestick intelligence of the death of Henriette, his eldest, and at the time he left France, his only, daughter. On this occasion he wrote to Madame Lafayette, (June 16, 1778 : ) " What a dreadful thing is absence ! I never experienced before all the horrors of separation. My own deep sorrow is aggravated by the feeling that I am not able to share, and sympathise in your anguish. The length of time that had elapsed before I heard of this event, had also increased my misery. Consider, my love, what a dreadful thing it must be to weep for what I have lost, and tremble for what remains. The distance between Europe and America appears to me more enormous than ever. The loss of our poor child is almost constantly in my thoughts ; this sad news followed immediately that of the treaty, and while my heart was torn by grief, I was obliged to receive, and take part in expressions of publick joy." \* \* \* \* \* " If the unfortunate news had reached me sooner, I should have set out immediately to rejoin you ; but the account of the treaty, which we received the first of May, prevented my leaving this country. The opening campaign does not allow me to retire. I have always been perfectly convinced, that by serving the cause of humanity, and that of America, I serve also the interest of France."

The above and similar extracts from the correspondence of Lafayette, we trust will not be deemed incompatible with the legitimate purposes of biography. We present him, and such is our desire, as one among the few examples of publick and private virtues, of goodness and greatness, united in the same person ; and as an illustration of the truth, that the stern exhibitions of valour in the tented field are not incompatible with the tender and cherished affections of domestick life. These attributes combined, form the most perfect character—whose examples are most beneficial to mankind, and whose name is most worthy to be cherished and perpetuated upon the records of history. Talk of liberty ! How can liberty exist without virtue ? And where is virtue to be found—where is it germinated—where does it bud and blossom, and bear fruit, if it is not around the domestick fire-side and in the social circle ?

## CHAPTER IX.

The British army evacuates Philadelphia—Pursuit by the Americans—Lee and a majority of officers oppose an attack—Lafayette concurs with Washington, Greene, and others, in favour of it—Lee declines the command of the advanced corps—Conferred on Lafayette—His instructions—Yields to Lee's solicitations—Vacillating conduct of Lee—Battle of Monmouth—Arrival of the French fleet, under Count D'Estaing—It repairs to Newport—Gratification of Lafayette—Is appointed to co-operate with his countrymen—Gen. Greene sent to participate in the command—Correspondence of Washington and Lafayette on the occasion.

AT length, on the morning of the 18th of June, the British army evacuated Philadelphia. It crossed the Delaware, and commenced its cumbrous march, through New Jersey, for the city of New York. Gen. Washington immediately sent out several detachments, to watch and harass the enemy. The principal bridges had been previously destroyed, and the roads obstructed with trees, &c. by the Americans. The whole army followed, and on the 22d of June passed into New Jersey, at Coryell's Ferry, and encamped at Hopewell, about five miles from Princeton. In the mean time, (June 24,) the British army had encamped at Hopetown, Sir Henry Clinton being for some days at a loss what course to take from thence. A council of war had been held by Gen. Washington, while the British were crossing the Delaware, at which the propriety of risking a general engagement with the enemy, should an opportunity present, or merely harassing them on their march, and avoiding an engagement, was discussed. General Lee was decidedly against an engagement, and a majority of the officers concurred with him. Washington himself, with Lafayette, Greene and Wayne, were of a different opinion. In a council at Hopewell, the question was again discussed. Lee persisted in his opinion, and that it was most prudent to pass to the Hudson, without hazarding a partial or general attack. Lafayette corresponded in his views, as he uniformly did, with Gen. Washington. He was about the last to

speak, and contended that it would be disgraceful to the officers and humiliating for the troops, to allow the enemy to traverse the Jerseys unmolested ; that without running an imprudent risk, the rear-guard at least of the British might be attacked ; that it was best to follow the enemy, manœuvre with prudence, and take advantage of circumstances, even to the hazard of a general battle. These views were concurred in by Duportail, chief of the engineers, and an excellent officer, and by Generals Greene, Steuben, Wayne, and Patterson. Other officers soon yielded their assent. Gen. Washington had uniformly been induced to seek an engagement ; and, although embarrassed by the divided views of his officers, had, with a decision of character that always distinguished him, formed his plans accordingly. He detached Morgan with his lighthorse to harrass the right flank of the enemy, while Maxwell and Dickinson annoyed them on the left, and Gen. Cadwallader in the rear : the main body of the army moved forward to Kingston. Sir Henry Clinton, having decided upon the route to pursue, commenced his march, on the 25th, on the road to Monmouth Court-House. Apprised of this, Washington detached Gen. Wayne with one thousand select men, to join and co-operate with the corps under Cadwallader, Dickinson, and Morgan. These corps now amounting to about four thousand men, he resolved, for the purpose of simultaneous and important action, to place them under the command of a major-general. As the senior officer, next in rank to the Commander-in-chief, Gen. Lee was entitled to command these advanced detachments. But, disapproving the plans of the Commander-in-chief, and believing and having predicted, their failure, he consented that the command should be given to Lafayette, who was willing and anxious to accept it. He therefore proceeded under the following instructions, from General Washington :

“ You are immediately to proceed with the detachment commanded by General Poor, and form a junction as expeditiously as possible with that under the command of General Scott. You are to use the most effectual means for gaining the enemy's left flank and rear, and giving them every means of annoyance. All continental parties, that are already on the lines, will be under your command, and you will take such measures, in concert with General Dickinson, as will cause the enemy the greatest impediment and loss in their march.

For these purposes you will attack them as occasion may require by detachment, and, if a proper opening should be given, by operating against them with the whole force of your command. You will naturally take such precautions as will secure you against surprise, and maintain your communication with this army. Given at Kingsten, this 25th day of June, 1778."

In the mean time, Lee had repented of having declined the command. He solicited Lafayette to relinquish it; then yielded, and again solicited. "It is my fortune and honour," said he to Lafayette, "that are placed in your hands: you are too generous to cause the loss of both." Ever noble and generous, Lafayette the next day wrote to Gen. Washington from Icetown, to which he had advanced, and was making vigilant preparations for an attack upon the enemy: "I want to repeat to you in writing what I have told to you, which is, that if you believe it, or if it is believed necessary or useful to the good of the service and the honour of General Lee, to send him down with a couple of thousand men, or any greater force, I will cheerfully obey and serve him, not only out of duty, but out of what I owe to that gentleman's character." On the receipt of this letter, (June 26,) Gen. Washington wrote to Gen. Lee. "Your uneasiness on account of the command of yesterday's detachment fills me with concern, as it is not in my power fully to remove it without wounding the feelings of the Marquis de Lafayette." As an expedient, however, which might in some measure meet the views of both, he proposed that Lee should march towards the marquis with two additional brigades; give him notice that he was advancing to support him, and was, as the senior officer, to have command of the whole advanced body, &c. He wrote also to Lafayette: "General Lee's uneasiness on account of yesterday's transaction, rather increasing than abating, and your politeness in wishing to ease him of it, have induced me to detach him from this army with a part of it, to reinforce, or at least cover the several detachments at present under your command. At the same time that I felt for General Lee's distress of mind, I have had an eye to your wishes, and the delicacy of your situation; and have therefore obtained a promise from him, that, when he gives you notice of his approach and command, he will request you to prosecute any plan you may have already concerted for the purpose of attacking, or otherwise annoying the enemy. This is the

only expedient I could think of to answer the views of both. General Lee seems satisfied with the measure, and I wish it may prove agreeable to you, as I am with the warmest wishes for your honour and glory, and with the sincerest esteem and affection, yours, &c."

To this arrangement Lafayette yielded cheerfully. The British army had encamped upon the high grounds, about Monmouth Court-House, in a strong position, secured on nearly all sides by woods and marshy ground. On ascertaining their position, Washington moved forward with his whole army; and sent orders to Lee, who was at English-town, with the advance, lately commanded by Lafayette, to move on and attack the enemy, "unless there should be very powerful reasons to the contrary." The British army set forward on the morning of the 28th. The baggage was placed under the care of Gen. Knyphausen, while the strength and flower of the army, entirely unincumbered, formed the rear division, under the particular command of Lord Cornwallis, who was accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton himself. Gen. Lee appeared on the Heights of Free-town, soon after Cornwallis had left them; followed the enemy into the plain, and made dispositions for attack. But he seems to have vacillated in his plans, as much as he had done in reference to taking the command of the detachment. He directed Lafayette to cross the plain, and attack the left flank of the enemy, by which he was exposed to the fire of the English artillery; and Lee then sent him word to fall back into the village in which were placed the rest of the troops. Lafayette behaved with the greatest presence of mind and bravery. A party of British troops having moved towards Lee's right flank, and so placed itself that Lafayette thought there was a fair opportunity for cutting it off, he rode quickly up to Lee and suggested to him that an advantageous attack might be made in that quarter. "Sir," replied Lee, "you do not know British soldiers; we cannot stand against them; we shall certainly be driven back at first, and we must be cautious." Lafayette answered, that "it might be so, but British soldiers had been beaten, and it was to be presumed they might be beaten again, and at any rate he was for making the trial."

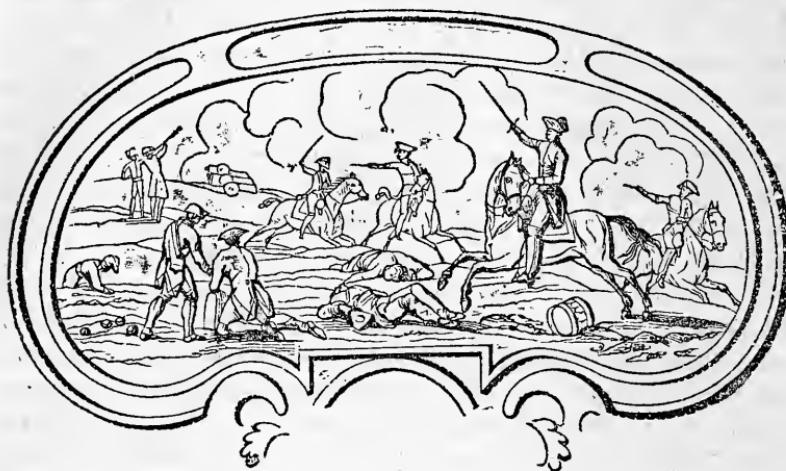
After some slight skirmishing, Lee began to give way,

with his whole division of five thousand men, although he knew Gen. Washington, with the entire army, was marching to his support. At the first retrograde movement, Lafayette sent information to Gen. Washington of what was passing, and that his presence was extremely important. Washington rode immediately to the scene of action, when he found the troops retreating in confusion. "You know," said Lee, "that all this was against my advice." General Washington replied with much severity. The presence of Washington gave courage to the troops. With the aid of Lafayette, and the other officers, they were rallied, and the enemy held in check, until the main body of the American army came up. Gen. Washington immediately made his dispositions for a general battle. When the order of battle was completed, Gen. Greene commanded the right of the first line, Lord Sterling the left, and Lafayette the second line. Being warmly opposed in front, the enemy attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. A similar attempt on the right, was resisted with equal bravery and success, by the troops with artillery, under General Greene; and Gen. Wayne, with a body of infantry, assailed the enemy, with a hot and well directed fire, in front, and compelled them to retire behind a marshy ravine, to the ground they had occupied before the beginning of the battle. Dispositions were made by Gen. Washington for attacking the enemy on the right and left, while the artillery should advance and play on their front; but night coming on, arrested these movements, and put an end to the engagement.

From four o'clock in the morning until night, Lafayette had been incessantly active. The heat had been so intense that many of the soldiers fell dead merely from its effects. Washington and Lafayette passed the night lying on the ground, upon the same mantle, in the midst of the soldiers, talking over the events of the day, and particularly the conduct of Lee, who was next day arrested, and eventually tried and convicted by a court-martial, and sentenced to be suspended for one year.

The next morning, it was discovered that the enemy had marched off during the night, and had gained such a position, that from the make of the country it was deemed unadvisable to follow them further. The enemy left two

hundred and forty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, and four officers, one of whom was Colonel Monckton of the grenadiers, dead on the field, and those afterwards found and buried by the inhabitants increased the number of killed to upwards of three hundred. Upwards of one hundred were taken prisoners. The number of dead which they buried, and the wounded carried off, could not be ascertained. The Americans lost seven officers, and fifty-two rank and file killed, and seven officers and one hundred and twenty rank and file wounded.



BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

Such was the *Battle of Monmouth*, in which Lafayette, although deprived by the caprice of Lee of an honourable command, distinguished himself by the greatest valour, skill, and devotion. Amidst the intensity of his own duties, he did not fail to observe with admiration, and afterwards to bear testimony to, the brave and skilful conduct of the Commander-in-chief. “Washington (he says) was never greater in battle than in this action. His presence stopped the retreat; his arrangements secured the victory. His graceful bearing on horseback, his calm and dignified deportment, which still retained some trace of the displeasure he had expressed in the morning, were all calculated to excite the highest degree of enthusiasm.”

The British army passed through New Jersey, and encamped in three divisions on Staten Island, York Island, and Long Island. Gen. Washington’s army marched leisurely for-

ward, crossed the North River at King's Ferry, and encamped near White Plains. While the two armies were marching from the Delaware to the Hudson, the French fleet, under the Count D'Estaing, arrived on the coast. It consisted of eleven ships of the line and six frigates, having on board a numerous body of troops, with a supply of arms and munitions of war—an acceptable aid to the Americans, and the first fruits they had derived from the alliance with France. Having touched at the Capes of Delaware (July 7,) and finding that the British army and fleet had gone to New York, Count D'Estaing despatched a frigate up the river, with M. Gerard, the first minister from France to the United States, and sailed for Sandy Hook. Not being able to co-operate with Gen. Washington on a plan proposed by him, for an attack upon the British fleet and army at New York, from the impracticability, as pronounced by the pilots, of getting his heavy ships over the bar, the French admiral sailed for Rhode Island, with the design of attacking the British force of about 5000 men, then stationed at Newport.

The arrival of the French fleet was a source of gratification to Lafayette. He had been desirous, and had exerted his whole influence, to induce the French government, not only to espouse openly the cause of American independence, but to aid it substantially and efficiently. General Washington, therefore, conferred upon Lafayette an acceptable duty, and a new and delicate proof of confidence, when, for the purpose of co-operating with the expedition of the French squadron against the enemy at Rhode Island, he assigned to him, by an order of 22d July, 1778, the immediate command of a detachment of two brigades, with direction to march with all convenient speed and by the best route to Providence, and place himself under the orders of General Sullivan, who had the command at that station. He concludes the order, by expressing, "the most perfect reliance on Lafayette's activity and zeal, and wishing him all the success, honour, and glory that his heart could wish." Gen. Greene was soon after sent by Gen. Washington to participate in this command, and was the bearer of the following explanatory letter to Lafayette :

"Head-quarters, White Plains, 27th July, 1778.

"DEAR MARQUIS—This will be delivered to you by Major-General Greene, whose thorough knowledge of Rhode Island, of which he is a

native, and the influence he will have with the people, put it in his power to be particularly useful in the expedition against that place, as well in providing necessaries for carrying it on, as in assisting to form and execute a plan of operations proper for the occasion. The honour and interest of the common cause are so deeply concerned in the success of this enterprise, that it appears to me of the greatest importance to omit no step which may conduce to it; and General Greene, on several accounts, will be able to render very essential service.

“These considerations have determined me to send him on the expedition, in which, as he could not with propriety act, nor be equally useful merely in his official capacity as quartermaster-general, I have concluded to give him a command in the troops to be employed in the descent. I have, therefore, directed General Sullivan to throw all the American troops, both continental, state, and militia, into two divisions, making an equal distribution of each, to be under the immediate command of General Greene and yourself. The continental troops being divided in this manner, with the militia, will serve to give them confidence, and probably make them act better than they would alone. Though this arrangement will diminish the number of continental troops under you, yet this diminution will be more than compensated by the addition of militia; and I persuade myself your command will not be less agreeable, or less honourable, from this change in the disposition. I am, with great esteem and affection, dear Marquis, your most obedient servant.”

The answer of Lafayette was consistent with the generous feelings, the disinterested and patriotick principles, by which he was ever actuated.

“I have received your excellency’s favour by General Greene, and have been much pleased with the arrival of a gentleman who, not only on account of his merit and the justness of his views, but also by his knowledge of the country and his popularity in this state, may be very serviceable to the expedition. I willingly part with the half of my detachment, though I had a great dependance upon them, as you find it convenient to the good of the service. Any thing, my dear general, you will order, or even wish, shall always be infinitely agreeable to me; and I will always feel happy in doing any thing which may please you, or forward the publick good. I am of the same opinion as your excellency, that dividing our continental troops among the militia, will have a better effect than if we were to keep them together in one wing.”

In the same letter, he informs Gen. Washington, that he had been on board of the admiral’s ship, (the French squadron having arrived off Newport a few days previous;) that the soldiers and sailors on board the fleet were impatient for action, and that he hoped they would soon be gratified. “The admiral (he says,) wants me to join the French troops to these I command, as soon as possible. I confess I feel very happy to think of my co-operating with them, and, had I

contrived in my own mind a beautiful dream, I could not have wished a more pleasing event than my joining my countrymen, with my brothers of America, under my command, and the same standards. When I left Europe, I was very far from hoping such an agreeable turn of affairs in the glorious American revolution."

In his reply to this letter, (August 10th,) Gen. Washington said :—

" The common cause, of which you have been a zealous supporter, would, I know, be benefited by General Greene's presence at Rhode Island, as he is a native of that state, has an interest with the people, and a thorough knowledge of the country, and, therefore, I accepted his proffered services; but I was a little uneasy, lest you should conceive that it was intended to lessen your command. General Greene did not incline to act in a detached part of the army, merely as quarter-master-general; nor was it to be expected. It became necessary, therefore, to give him a detached command, and consequently to divide the continental troops. Your cheerful acquiescence in the measure, after being appointed to the command of the brigades which marched from this army, obviated every difficulty, and gave me singular pleasure.

" I am very happy to find that the standards of France and America are likely to be united under your command, at Rhode Island. I am persuaded, that the supporters of each will be emulous to acquire honour, and promote your glory, upon this occasion."

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## CHAPTER X.

Operations at Newport—Plans disconcerted—Displeasure of Count D'Estaing—British fleet appears—Engagement between the French and English fleets—Separated by a storm—The French fleet returns to Boston—Indignation and misunderstanding occasioned thereby—Lafayette acts as mediator—Repairs to Boston—Harmony restored—Action at Newport—Lafayette's hasty return to participate in it—The "Retreat of Rhode Island"—Lafayette's services on the occasion appreciated—Resolution of Congress—Approbatory letter of Washington.

BUT the anticipations of Washington and Lafayette, and the American Congress and people, of immediate advantages to their arms from the co-operation of the French fleet, were to be disappointed. Count D'Estaing had arrived before Newport several days before the troops from Gen. Washington's army, and other forces destined for the projected attack, reached that place, and had concerted with General

Sullivan the plan of operations. This delay in the arrival of the land forces, disconcerted the admiral's plans, and with other causes, led to misunderstandings and the failure of the expedition. But it was agreed that the French and American forces should land at the same time, the 10th of August, on the northern extremity of Rhode Island. Four thousand French troops were to be landed. On the 8th, preparatory to the attack, Count D'Estaing, entered the harbour through the middle channel, with his fleet, without sustaining injury from the British batteries which played upon him from the shore. The preparations for the attack being perceived by the enemy, the British troops under Gen. Pigot, stationed on the north end of the island, were withdrawn on the night of the 8th, into the lines at Newport. On discovering this the next morning, Gen. Sullivan deemed it expedient to avail himself of it, and to take immediate possession of the works which had been abandoned. He therefore crossed the east passage with his whole army, and landed on the north end of the island. Admiral D'Estaing, according to the authority of Marshall and Lafayette, was displeased at this movement, deeming it disrespectful that Sullivan should thus land, without consulting him, before the time agreed upon for the joint attack. The next day, (the 10th,) Sullivan, Lafayette, and Greene, looked anxiously for the landing of the French troops, but in vain. A British squadron, under Lord Howe, having come from New York for the relief of Newport, unexpectedly appeared off the harbour. The wind, on the 10th, being fair, the French Admiral immediately stood out to sea, with his whole fleet, with the intention of giving battle. In the mean time he sent word to Gen. Sullivan, promising to co-operate with him in the land attack on his return. Lord Howe, to prevent the French getting the weather-gage, also weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, followed by the French fleet, and both fleets were soon out of sight. The two fleets had manœuvred for two days without coming to action; but were on the point of engaging, when a severe storm arose, which dispersed both fleets, and they retired in a very shattered condition, the British to New York, and the French again to Newport.

In the mean while, in expectation of the return of the French fleet, the American army marched forward

on the 15th, took post within two miles of the enemy's lines at Newport, commenced the erection of batteries, and in a short time opened a cannonade against the British works. The British on their part, were not idle in counter defence. The American army had suffered much from the severity of the late storm; and the reappearance of the French fleet on the evening of the 19th, inspired joy and hope. But these new expectations were soon disappointed. Count D'Estaing advised Gen. Sullivan of his intention to retire with his fleet to Boston, to repair. This communication created much excitement in the American camp; for without the co-operation of the French fleet, it was believed the army would be compelled to retire without effecting its object. By direction of Gen. Sullivan, Greene and Lafayette repaired on board the admiral's ship, and used every argument to induce him to change his determination, and co-operate in an immediate attack, according to the previous plan, or any other that might be deemed expedient. But by the almost unanimous advice of his officers, and conceiving that his instructions which directed him to sail for Boston, should his fleet meet with any disaster, or should a superior British fleet appear on the coast, were imperative, he persisted in his determination. He offered, however, to place his two battalions of troops under the command of Lafayette; an offer which, for prudential reasons, the latter did not feel authorized to accept.

After the return of Lafayette and Greene, Gen. Sullivan, unwilling to yield a point which he deemed so important, wrote again to Count D'Estaing, to induce him to change his determination. His letter was accompanied by a protest, which was signed by all the American general officers on the island, with the exception of Lafayette. He refused to sign it on account of some expressions which he considered derogatory to his countrymen, and calculated to give offence to the French admiral. Such was the result of this ill-timed measure; and the admiral sailed for Boston without further delay.

The departure of the French fleet was the cause of deep disappointment to the American army. Under the impulse of feelings, thus excited, expressions of censure were indulged in, which served to increase the jealousies and dissen-

sions that had unfortunately arisen ; and which Count D'Estaing, in his vindictory letters to Congress, proved to be as unjust, as they certainly were impolitick. Gen. Sullivan, participating in the feelings of the moment, in a general order which he issued, used an expression well calculated to aggravate the irritated feelings of the French officers—the purport of which was, that the Americans *were abandoned by their allies.*\* The spirited remonstrances of Lafayette, and his own mature sense of justice, procured from Gen. Sullivan the following explanatory order :—

“ It having been supposed, by some persons, that by the orders of the 21st instant, the Commander-in-chief meant to insinuate that the departure of the fleet was owing to a fixed determination not to assist in the present enterprise, and that, as the general did not wish to give the least colour to ungenerous and illiberal minds to make such an unfair interpretation, he thinks it necessary to say, that as he could not possibly be acquainted with the orders of the French admiral, he could not determine whether the removal of the fleet was absolutely necessary or not ; and, therefore, did not mean to censure an act which those orders might render absolutely necessary.”

The feelings of dissatisfaction were no less strong at Boston, and it was apprehended that the reception of the French fleet in that harbour would be far from cordial, and that the necessary means of repairing and supplying it with provisions would be withheld. Governour Hancock, therefore, who was on Rhode Island with the Massachusetts militia, repaired to Boston, for the purpose of preventing all irritating causes, and securing to the fleet a friendly reception.

These difficulties and dissensions were highly painful to Lafayette. He felt naturally for the honour of his countrymen, and was anxious to preserve a friendly relation, and to bring about an efficient co-operation, between them and the American patriots. He addressed, (August 21st,) a long letter to Gen. Washington, detailing the circumstances which had occurred. He vindicates the course of Count D'Estaing, from the necessity, owing to his position at Newport between the British fleet and the land batteries, of seeking, in the open sea, an engagement with the ene-

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\* The expression most offensive was this : “ the general yet hopes the event will prove America able to procure that by her own arms, which her allies refuse to assist in obtaining.” See Sparks’ Writings of Washington, Vol. 6, p. 46-7, &c.

my's fleet, the shattered condition of his ships after the storm, in which one was supposed to be lost and others were dismasted, and his positive orders, with the decision of his officers, under such circumstances to repair to Boston. He complains, also, of the unjust censures and illiberal remarks to which the common disappointment had given rise towards his countrymen, so much calculated to destroy the harmony between the military forces of the two nations. In three weeks, he says, the fleet will be repaired, when he "will be happy to see it co-operating with General Washington himself." He concludes as follows:—

"I think I shall be forced, by the board of general officers, to go soon to Boston. That I will do as soon as required, though with reluctance, for I do not believe that *our position on this part of the island is without danger*; but my principle is to do everything which is thought good for the service. I have very often rode express to the fleet, to the frigates, and that I assure you, with the greatest pleasure; on the other hand, I may perhaps be useful to the fleet. Perhaps, too, it will be in the power of the count to do something which might satisfy them. I wish, my dear general, you could know as well as myself, how desirous the Count D'Estaing is to forward the publick good, to help your success, and to serve the cause of America.

"I earnestly beg you will recommend to the several chief persons of Boston to do everything they can to put the French fleet in a situation for sailing soon. Give me leave to add, that I wish many people, by the declaration of your sentiments in that affair, could learn how to regulate theirs, and blush at the sight of your generosity.

"You will find my letter immense. I began it one day and finished it the next, as my time was swallowed by those eternal councils of war. I shall have the pleasure of writing you from Boston. I am afraid the Count D'Estaing will have felt to the quick the behaviour of the people on this occasion. You cannot conceive how distressed he was to be prevented from serving this country for some time. I do assure you his circumstances were very critical and distressing.

"For my part, my sentiments are known to the world. My tender affection for general Washington is added to them; therefore I want no apologies for writing upon what has afflicted me both as an American and as a Frenchman.

"I am much obliged to you for the care you are so kind as to take of that poor horse of mine; had he not found such a good stable as this at head-quarters, he would have cut a pitiful figure at the end of his travels, and I should have been too happy if there had remained so much of the horse as the bones, the skin, and the four shoes.

"Farewell, my dear General; whenever I quit you, I meet with some disappointment and misfortune. I did not need it to desire seeing you as much as possible. With the most tender affection and high regard, I have the honour to be, &c.

"DEAR GENERAL,—I must add to my letter, that I have received

one from General Greene, very different, from the expressions I have to complain of; he seems there very sensible of what I feel. I am very happy when placed in a situation to do justice to any one.

To this letter Gen. Washington replied :—

“ *White Plains, 1st September, 1778.* ”

“ **MY DEAR MARQUIS**—I have been honoured with your favour of the 25th ultimo by Monsieur Pontgibaud, and I wish my time, which at present is taken up by a committee of Congress, would permit me to go fully into the contents of it; this, however, it is not in my power to do; but in one word let me say, I feel everything that hurts the sensibility of a gentleman, and consequently, upon the present occasion, I feel for you and for our good and great allies the French. I feel myself hurt, also, at every illiberal and unthinking reflection which may have been cast upon the Count D'Estaing, or the conduct of the fleet under his command; and, lastly, I feel for my country. Let me entreat you, therefore, my dear marquis, to take no exception at unmeaning expressions, uttered, perhaps, without consideration, and in the first transport of disappointed hope. Every body, sir, who reasons, will acknowledge the advantages which we have derived from the French fleet, and the zeal of the commander of it; but, in a free and republican government, you cannot restrain the voice of the multitude; every man will speak as he thinks, or, more properly, without thinking, and consequently will judge at effects without attending to the causes. The censures which have been levelled at the officers of the French fleet would, more than probably, have fallen in a much higher degree upon a fleet of our own, if we had one in the same situation. It is the nature of man to be displeased with everything that disappoints a favourite hope or flattering project; and it is the folly of too many of them to condemn without investigating circumstances.

“ Let me beseech you, therefore, my good sir, to afford a healing hand to the wound that, unintentionally has been made. America esteems your virtues and your services, and admires the principles upon which you act; your countrymen, in our army, look up to you as their patron; the count and his officers consider you as a man high in rank, and high in estimation here and also in France; and I, your friend, have no doubt but you will use your utmost endeavours to restore harmony, that the honour, the glory, and mutual interest of the two nations may be promoted and cemented in the firmest manner. I would say more on the subject, but am restrained for want of time, and therefore shall only add, that with every sentiment of esteem and regard, I am, my dear marquis, &c.”

The same day, Gen. Washington wrote also to Sullivan and Greene, urging them to use every means to suppress the jealousies and feuds which had arisen. To Greene, he says :

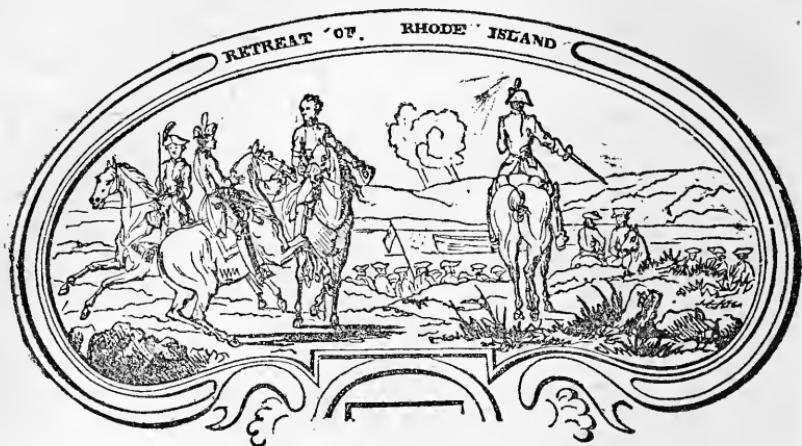
“ I depend much upon your aid and influence to conciliate that animosity which I plainly perceive, by a letter from the marquis,

subsists between the American officers and the French in our service ; this, you may depend, will extend itself to the count, and to the officers and men of his whole fleet, should they return to Rhode Island, unless, upon their arrival there, they find a reconciliation has taken place. The marquis speaks kindly of a letter from you to him on the subject ; he will therefore take any advice coming from you in a friendly light ; and, if he can be pacified, the other French gentlemen will of course be satisfied, as they all look up to him as their head. The marquis grounds his complaint upon a general order of the 24th of August, the latter part of which is certainly very impolitick, especially considering the universal clamour that prevailed against the French nation.

" I beg you will take every measure to keep the protest entered into by the general officers from being made publick. The Congress, sensible of the ill consequences that will flow from the world's knowing our differences, have passed a resolve to that purpose. Upon the whole, my dear sir, you can conceive my meaning better than I can express it ; and I therefore fully depend upon your exerting yourself to heal all private animosities between our principal officers and the French, and to prevent all illiberal expressions and reflections that may fall from the army at large."

As hope was still entertained of procuring timely aid from Count D'Estaing, Gen. Sullivan raised the siege of Newport, and returned to the north side of the island ; and Lafayette repaired to Boston, to conciliate the difficulties which had arisen, and induce the required co-operation. After travelling all night, he arrived just as the count and his officers were entering Boston to attend a publick dinner given to them by the municipal and military authorities. This repast was followed by a council, in which the exertions and influence of Lafayette, highly respected as he was both by his countrymen and the Americans, contributed to the ultimate and speedy restoration of those friendly feelings which had been so seriously interrupted. In that conference, Count D'Estaing demonstrated the impracticability of repairing to Newport with his fleet, in its then crippled condition, but offered to march immediately himself, with his troops. The next morning, however, Lafayette received information, that Gen. Sullivan, in the course of his movements the day previous, (August 29,) had been attacked by the enemy ; that the two armies were warmly engaged, and that Clinton had arrived with reinforcements to the British. He immediately started, travelled eighty miles in less than eight hours, and arrived at Howland's Ferry, just as the American army was crossing it. The rear-

guard of a thousand men, and pickets, were still on the island, surrounded by the enemy: to these Lafayette repaired, took charge of them, and brought them off without the loss of a man. The previous part of the engagement and retreat had been conducted by Sullivan with great skill and bravery.



Lafayette had previously advised a retreat. He had given his opinion to Gen. Sullivan, in writing, on the 24th of August, as follows: "I do not approve of continuing the siege. The time of the militia is out, and they will not longer sacrifice their private interest to the common cause. A retreat is the wisest step." But, he regretted much not being present during the whole of the engagement. To General Washington, Sept. 1st, he says: "My dear General,—that there has been an action fought, where I could have been, and where I was not, is a thing which will seem as extraordinary to you as it seems to myself." "There (to Boston,) I had been sent, pushed, hurried, by the board of general officers, and principally by generals Sullivan and Greene, who thought I should be of great use to the common cause, and to whom I foretold the disagreeable event which would happen to me. I felt on that occasion, the impression of that bad star, which some days ago, has influenced the French undertakings, and which, I hope, will soon be removed. People say that I don't want an action; but if it is not necessary to my reputation as a tolerable private soldier, it would at least add to my satisfaction and pleas-

ure." He speaks in high terms of the conduct of Sullivan in the engagement and retreat, and gives an account of the favourable result of his visit to the Count D'Estaing at Boston :

" I am now (he says,) entrusted, by General Sullivan, with the care of Warren, Bristol, and the eastern shore. I am to defend a country with very few troops who are not able to defend more than a single point. I cannot answer that the enemy won't go and do what they please, for I am not able to prevent them, only with a part of their army, and yet this part must not land far from me ; but I answer, that if they come with equal or not very superior forces to those I may collect, we shall flog them pretty well : at least, I hope so. My situation seems to be uncertain, for we expect to hear soon from your excellency. You know Mr. Touzard, a gentleman of my family—he met with a terrible accident in the last action ; running before all the others, to take a piece of cannon in the midst of the enemy, with the greatest excess of bravery, he was immediately covered with their shots, had his horse killed, and his right arm shattered to pieces. He was happy enough not to fall into their hands : his life is not despaired of. Congress was going to send him a commission of major.

" Give me joy, my dear general, I intend to have your picture, and Mr. Hancock has promised me a copy of that he has in Boston. He gave one to Count D'Estaing, and I never saw a man so glad at possessing his sweetheart's picture, as the admiral was to receive yours."

The zeal and services of Lafayette on these occasions, were justly appreciated by Congress and the Commander-in-chief. By a resolution of September 9th, the President of Congress was specially requested "to inform the Marquis de Lafayette, that Congress have a due sense of the sacrifice he made of his personal feelings in undertaking a journey to Boston, with a view of promoting the interests of these States, at a time when an occasion was daily expected of acquiring glory in the field ; and that his gallantry in going on Rhode Island when the greatest part of the army had retreated, and his good conduct in bringing off the pickets and out-sentries, deserve their particular approbation." This resolution was conveyed to Lafayette, accompanied by the following letter :

" *Philadelphia, 13th September, 1778.*

" Sir—I am sensible of a particular degree of pleasure in executing the order of Congress, signified in their act of the 9th instant, which will be enclosed with this, expressing the sentiments of the representatives of the United States of America, of your high merit on the late expedition against Rhode Island. You will do Congress justice, Sir, in receiving the present acknowledgment as a tribute of the re-

spect and gratitude of a free people. I have the honour to be, with very great respect and esteem, Sir, your obedient and most humble servant."

HENRY LAURENS, *President.*

To this communication Lafayette made a feeling reply.

"Whatever pride (he wrote) such an approbation may justly give me, I am not less affected by the feelings of gratefulness, and the satisfaction of thinking my endeavours were ever looked on as useful to a cause, in which my heart is so deeply interested. Be so good, Sir, as to present to Congress my plain and hearty thanks, with a frank assurance of a candid attachment, the only one worth being offered to the representatives of a free people. The moment I heard of America, I loved her; the moment I knew she was fighting for freedom, I burnt with a desire of bleeding for her; and the moment I shall be able to serve her at any time, or in any part of the world, will be the happiest one of my life. I never so much wished for occasions of deserving those obliging sentiments with which I am honoured by these states and their representatives, and that flattering confidence they have been pleased to put in me, has filled my heart with the warmest acknowledgments and eternal affection."

The expressions of approbation by General Washington, were no less ardent than those of Congress, and breathe the language of friendship as well as of patriotism. Under date of Sept. 25th, he says :

"The sentiments of affection and attachment, which breathe so conspicuously in all your letters to me, are at once pleasing and honourable, and afford me abundant cause to rejoice at the happiness of my acquaintance with you. Your love of liberty, the just sense you entertain of this valuable blessing, and your noble and disinterested exertions in the cause of it, added to the innate goodness of your heart, conspire to render you dear to me; and I think myself happy in being linked with you in bonds of the strictest friendship.

"The ardent zeal which you have displayed during the whole course of the campaign to the eastward, and your endeavours to cherish harmony among the officers of the allied powers, and to dispel those unfavourable impressions which had begun to take place in the minds of the unthinking, from misfortunes, which the utmost stretch of human foresight could not avert, deserved, and now receive, my particular and warmest thanks. I am sorry for Monsieur Touzard's loss of an arm in the action on Rhode Island; and offer my thanks to him, through you, for his gallant behaviour on that day.

"Could I have conceived that my picture had been an object of your wishes, or in the smallest degree worthy of your attention, I should, while M. Peale was in the camp at Valley Forge, have got him to take the best portrait of me he could, and presented it to you; but I really had not so good an opinion of my own worth, as to suppose that such a compliment would not have been considered as a greater instance of my vanity, than means of your gratification; and therefore, when you requested me to sit to Monsieur Lanfang, I thought it was only to obtain the outlines and a few shades of my features, to have some prints struck from."

## CHAPTER XI.

Lafayette watches the enemy on Rhode Island—New difficulties between the French and Americans—Reconciled by Lafayette—His anxiety for more active operations—Projects for that purpose—Canada expedition discouraged by Washington—Lafayette decides to visit France—Insulting language of the British Commissioners—Lafayette resents it, and proposes challenging Lord Carlisle—Gen. Washington and Count D'Estaing endeavour to dissuade him therefrom—Challenge sent and declined—Lafayette prepares for his voyage—Correspondence with Gen. Washington and Congress—Grateful testimonials and acknowledgments—Lafayette leaves Philadelphia for Boston—His dangerous illness at Fishkill—attended by Doct. Cochrane—Kindness of Gen. Washington—Visit of Dr. Thatcher—Lafayette recovers—Takes leave of Washington, and pursues his journey—His eloquent tribute to the character of Washington—Detention at Boston--The proposed Canada expedition finally rejected by Congress—Lafayette's farewell letters to General Washington--Sails for France.

LAFAYETTE continued for several weeks in the duties assigned him, of watching the enemy's motions, near Bristol. His force was not sufficient to prevent those depredations which were then being committed by marauding parties of the British army upon the inhabitants of the defenceless eastern towns. His own situation was often critical. In the mean time, new difficulties had arisen between the French and Americans at Boston. A violent affray had occurred between a party of each, on the 13th of September, in which the French were overpowered, and the Chevalier de Saint Sauveur, a gallant and worthy officer, lost his life. The authorities of Boston took prompt measures to ascertain and punish the ringleaders of the outrage, who were supposed to be, not American citizens, but English prisoners and deserters. Lafayette again became mediator, and harmony and mutual confidence were once more restored.

But, Lafayette was anxious for more active employment, and a wider field of operations. Writing to Madame Lafayette, he said: "Half the Americans say that I am passionately fond of my country, and the other half say that, since

the arrival of the French ships, I have become mad, and that I neither eat nor drink, nor sleep, but according to the winds that blow. Betwixt ourselves they are a little in the right : I never felt so strongly what may be called national pride." To Gen. Washington, (Sept 7th,) he says : " I am told that the enemy is going to evacuate New York. My policy leads me to believe that some troops will be sent to Halifax, to the West Indies, and to Canada ; that Canada, I apprehend, will be your occupation next winter and spring. The idea, my dear General, alters the plan I had to make a voyage home, some months hence ; however, as long as you fight, I want to fight along with you, and I much desire to see your excellency in Canada next summer." His thoughts were also turned to European operations, to a project which then began to be seriously entertained in France. Writing to his father-in-law, the Duke D'Ayen, (Sept. 11,) he says : " You must feel how impossible it is for me to ascertain when I can return to you. I shall be guided entirely by circumstances. My great object in wishing to return, was the idea of a descent upon England. I should consider myself as almost dishonoured, if I were not present at such a moment. I should feel so much regret and shame, that I should be tempted to drown or hang myself, according to the English mode. My greatest happiness would be to drive them from this country, and then to repair to England, serving under your command. This is a very delightful project ; God grant it may be realized ! " And to Gen. Washington, (Sept 25,) he again expresses his desire for action. " I long much, (he writes,) my dear general, to be again with you, our separation has been long enough, and I am here as inactive as any where else. My wish, and that you will easily conceive, had been to co-operate with the French fleet. I don't know now what they will do. The admiral has written to me upon many plans, and does not seem well fixed on any scheme : he burns with the desire of striking a blow, and is not yet determined how to accomplish it. He wrote me, that he wanted to see me, but I cannot leave my post, lest something might happen : it has already cost dear enough to me. However, if you give me leave, I'll ask this of Gen. Sullivan, and will do what I think best for both countries."

To this proposed visit Gen. Washington assented. Its prin-

cipal object, doubtless, was to consult with Count D'Estaing on the subject of an expedition against Canada, to which the consent of Congress and of the French government was to be obtained. At the same time, and in the letter last quoted, Washington expressed his opinion against such an expedition. "If you have entertained thoughts, (he says,) my dear marquis, of paying a visit to your court, to your lady, and to your friends, this winter, but waver on account of an expedition into Canada, friendship induces me to tell you, that I do not conceive that the prospect of such an operation is so favourable at this time as to cause you to change your views." Brief reasons are given for this conclusion, and Gen. Washington adds : "In a word, the chances are so much against the undertaking, that they ought not to induce you to lay aside your other purposes, in the prosecution of which you shall have every aid, and carry with you every honourable testimony of my regard and entire approbation of your conduct that you can wish. But, it is a compliment which is due, so I am persuaded you would not dispense with the form of signifying your desires to Congress on the subject of your voyage and absence."

While at Boston, on the visit to Count D'Estaing, Lafayette made up his mind to return to France. Anxious to render this proposed visit subservient to the interests of America, and not having yielded the hope of an ultimate attack upon Canada, he asked and obtained leave to repair to Head-quarters, to consult with Gen. Washington upon the subject. An affair of a different nature, also, about this time engaged his attention. The British commissioners, in their correspondence with Congress, had charged the French nation with "a perfidy too universally acknowledged to require any proof." The French officers considered this an insult which ought to be resented by them ; and Lafayette, as the highest officer, deemed himself honourably bound to carry their views into effect. The communication containing the offensive expression, was signed by all the British commissioners, but Lord Carlisle's name stood first, as President of the Board. Lafayette, therefore, conceived the project of sending him a challenge, and in a letter of Sept. 24, he stated the case to Gen. Washington, and asked his opinion on the subject. The reply is interesting, not only as relates to the occasion itself, but as exhibiting

the opinion of Gen. Washington adverse to the practice of duelling :

*" Fishkill, 4th October, 1778.*

" **MY DEAR MARQUIS**,—I have had the pleasure of receiving, by the hands of Monsieur de la Colombe, your favour of the 28th ultimo, accompanied by one of the 24th, which he overtook somewhere on the road. The leave requested in the former, I am as much interested to grant, as to refuse my approbation of the challenge proposed in the latter. The generous spirit of chivalry, exploded by the rest of the world, finds a refuge, my dear friend, in the sensibility of your nation only. But it is in vain to cherish it, unless you can find antagonists to support it; and, however well adapted it might have been to the times in which it existed, in our days, it is to be feared, that your opponent, sheltering himself behind modern opinions, and under his present publick character of commissioner, would turn a virtue of such ancient date into ridicule. Besides, supposing his lordship accepted your terms, experience has proved that chance is often as much concerned in deciding these matters as bravery, and always more than the justice of the cause. I would not, therefore, have your life, by the remotest possibility, exposed, when it may be reserved for so many greater occasions. His excellency, the admiral, I flatter myself, will be in sentiment with me; and, as soon as he can spare you, will send you to Head-quarters, where I anticipate the pleasure of seeing you."

To this letter, Lafayette having returned to Head-quarters, Washington added personal persuasions. Count D' Estaing coincided in his views, and in an interesting correspondence, they expressed mutual anxiety to prevent the contemplated meeting. Lafayette, however, deeming himself pledged to his brother officers, actually sent a challenge to Lord Carlisle. The result was such as Washington had anticipated. His lordship declined the challenge, upon the ground that he did not consider himself personally responsible for expressions used in an official capacity. At a subsequent period, in a note to one of his manuscripts, Lafayette says, "Lord Carlisle refused, and he was right;" and seems to admit, that he ought to have followed Washington's advice.

From Head-quarters, Lafayette repaired to Philadelphia, and addressed the following letter to the President of Congress :

*" Philadelphia, 13th October, 1778.*

" Sir—Whatever care I should take not to employ the precious time of Congress in private considerations, I beg leave to lay before them my present circumstances, with that confidence which naturally springs from affection and gratitude. The sentiments which bind me to my country, can never be more properly spoken of than in the presence

of men who have done so much for their own. As long as I thought I could dispose of myself, I made it my pride and pleasure to fight under American colours, in defence of a cause, which I dare more particularly call ours, because I had the good fortune to bleed for it. Now, sir, that France is involved in a war, I am urged by a sense of duty, as well as by patriotick love, to present myself before the king, to know in what manner he may judge proper to employ my services. The most agreeable of all will be such as may enable me always to serve the common cause among those whose friendship I have the happiness to obtain, and whose fortune I have had the honour to follow in less smiling times. That reason, and others, which I leave to the feelings of Congress, engage me to beg from them the liberty of going home for the next winter.

"As long as there were any hopes of an active campaign, I did not think of leaving the field. Now that I see a very peaceable and undisturbed moment, I take this opportunity of waiting on Congress. In case my request is granted, I shall so manage my departure as to be certain before going off that the compaign is really over. Inclosed you will find a letter from his excellency General Washington, where he expresses his assent to my getting leave of absence. I dare flatter myself, that I shall be looked upon as a soldier on furlough, who most heartily wants to join again his colours, and his most esteemed and beloved fellow-soldiers. In case it is thought that I can be in any way useful to the service of America, when I shall find myself among my countrymen, and in case any exertion of mine is deemed serviceable, I hope, sir, I shall always be considered as a man who is deeply interested in the welfare of the United States, and who has the most perfect affection, regard, and confidence for their representatives. With the highest regard, I have the honour to be, &c."

"LAFAYETTE."

The letter of Gen. Washington, referred to in the foregoing, speaks in the highest terms of Lafayette, of his services, and his motive for returning to France. It recommends, that leave of absence be granted to Lafayette on furlough. "A reluctance (Gen. Washington added) to part with an officer, who unites to all the military fire of youth an uncommon maturity of judgement, would lead me to prefer his being absent on this footing, if it depended upon me. I shall always be happy to give such a testimony of his services, as his bravery and conduct on all occasions entitle him to; and I have no doubt that Congress will add suitable expressions of their sense of his merit, and their regret on account of his departure."

Congress complied promptly with the request of Lafayette, and accompanied their assent with the most just and flattering expressions of gratitude and respect. These

were officially communicated to him in the following letter from the President of Congress :

*“Philadelphia, 24th October, 1778.*

“ Sir—I had the honour of presenting to Congress your letter, soliciting leave of absence, and I am directed by the house to express their thanks for your zeal in promoting that just cause in which they are engaged, and for the disinterested services you have rendered to the United States of America. In testimony of the high esteem and affection in which you are held by the good people of these states, as well as in acknowledgment of your gallantry and military talents, displayed on many signal occasions, their representatives in Congress assembled have ordered an elegant sword to be presented to you by the American minister at the court of Versailles.

“ Enclosed within the present cover will be found an act of Congress, of the 21st instant, authorizing these declarations, and granting a furlough for your return to France, to be extended at your own pleasure. I pray God to bless and protect you, Sir; to conduct you in safety to the presence of your prince, and to the re-enjoyment of your noble family and friends. I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, and with the most sincere affection, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS, *President.*

“ 1778. In Congress, October 21st.—Resolved, That the Marquis de Lafayette, major-general in the service of the United States, have leave to go to France, and that he return at such time as shall be most convenient to him.

“ Resolved, that the president write a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, returning him the thanks of Congress for that disinterested zeal which led him to America, and for the services he has rendered to the United States by the exertion of his courage and abilities on many signal occasions.

“ Resolved, That the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, be directed to cause an elegant sword, with proper devices, to be made, and presented in the name of the United States to the Marquis de Lafayette.

“ October 22nd.—Resolved, That the following letter of recommendation of the Marquis de Lafayette be written to the King of France:—

“ To our great, faithful, and beloved friend and ally, Louis the Sixteenth, king of France and Navarre:—

“ The Marquis de Lafayette having obtained our leave to return to his native country, we could not suffer him to depart without testifying our deep sense of his zeal, courage, and attachment. We have advanced him to the rank of major-general in our armies, which, as well by his prudent as spirited conduct, he has manifestly merited. We recommend this young nobleman to your majesty's notice, as one whom we know to be wise in council, gallant in the field, and patient under the hardships of war. His devotion to his sovereign has led him in all things to demean himself as an American, acquiring thereby the confidence of these United States, your good and faithful

friends and allies, and the affection of their citizens. We pray God to keep your majesty in his holy protection.

“ Done at Philadelphia, the 22nd day of October, 1778, the Congress of the United States of North America, your good friends and allies.

HENRY LAURENS, *President.*

These testimonials of Congress were acknowledged by Lafayette in the most feeling manner.

“ Nothing can make me happier (he says) than the reflection that my services have met with their approbation ; the glorious testimonial of confidence and satisfaction repeatedly bestowed on me by the representatives of America, though superior to my merit, cannot exceed the grateful sentiments they have excited. I consider the noble present offered to me in the name of the United States as the most flattering honour ; it is my most fervent desire soon to employ that sword in their service against the common enemy of my country, and of their faithful and beloved allies.

“ That liberty, safety, wealth, and concord, may ever extend to the United States, is the ardent wish of a heart glowing with a devoted zeal and unbounded love, and the highest regard and the most sincere affection for their representatives.”

Equally honourable to Lafayette, was the testimonial of M. Gerard, the French minister in this country. Writing (October, 1778,) to Count de Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs in France, he said :

“ I ought not to terminate this long despatch, without rendering to the wisdom and dexterity of the Marquis de Lafayette, in the part he has taken in these discussions, the justice which is due to his merits. He has given most salutary counsels, authorized by his friendship and experience. The Americans have strongly solicited his return with the troops which the king may send. He has replied with a due sensibility, but with an entire resignation to the will of the king. I cannot forbear saying, that the conduct, equally prudent, courageous, and amiable, of the Marquis de Lafayette, has made him the idol of the Congress, the army, and the people of America. A high opinion is entertained of his military talents. You know how little I am inclined to adulmentation ; but I should be wanting in justice, if I did not transmit to you these testimonials, which are here in the mouth of the whole world.”

Thus honoured and respected, after an arduous and glorious service of fifteen months in the cause of America, Lafayette left Philadelphia on horseback for Boston. The *Alliance*, a fine frigate of thirty-six guns, had been assigned by Congress, to bear the adopted son of America to the land of his nativity. And how justly, in reference to this period, has Marshall remarked : “ The partiality of America for Lafayette was well placed. Never did a foreigner,

whose primary attachments to his own country remained undiminished, feel more solicitude for the welfare of another, than was unceasingly manifested by this young nobleman, for the United States."

The fatiguing journeys and over-exertions that he had gone through, the painful excitement which he had experienced from the difficulties at Rhode Island and Boston, and the no less exciting, yet less painful, scenes at Philadelphia, of conferences in relation to military affairs, and the more important purposes of his return to France, together with the social festivities and publick manifestations of respect, to which he was, in "killing kindness" subjected, had seriously impaired the health of Lafayette. Every where, in the progress of his journey, too, which he performed on horseback in an inclement and rainy season, feasts and entertainments were prepared for him by the inhabitants, in which he could not avoid participating. When, therefore, he reached Fishkill, about eight miles from Gen. Washington's camp, he was obliged to yield to the violence of an inflammatory fever. For three weeks he was confined here. His life for a time was despaired of. A report went abroad that he was actually dead, which occasioned great regret in the army, where he was called the *soldier's friend*. The people, too, every where manifested deep anxiety for the fate of *The Marquis*, the name by which he was in popular phrase designated. Lafayette, also, at one time thought himself dying. Speaking afterwards of his feelings on the occasion, he remarks, that "he regretted that he could not hope again to see his country and the dearest object of his affections. Far from foreseeing the happy fate that awaited him, he would willingly have exchanged his future chance of life, although but one and twenty years of age, for the certainty of living but for three months, on condition of again seeing his friends, and witnessing the happy termination of the American war."

Gen. Washington, who, when Lafayette was wounded at Brandywine, had enjoined the surgeon *to take care of him as if he were his own son*, manifested during this illness the utmost kindness and paternal attention, calling daily to inquire about him. Doct. Cochrane, an eminent physician in the army, gave up his whole attention to Lafayette; and by his skill and assiduity the disease was conquered. At

this time, Doctor Thatcher paid a visit to Lafayette, which is thus described in his Journal, (November 27) :—"Visited my friends at Fishkill, and by the request of Colonel Gibson, I waited on the Marquis de Lafayette. The Colonel furnished me with a letter of introduction, and his compliments, with inquiries respecting the Marquis's health. I was received by this nobleman in a polite and affable manner. He is just recovering from a fever, and was in his chair of convalescence. He is nearly six feet high, large but not corpulent, being not more than twenty-one years of age. He is not very elegant in his form, his shoulders being broad and high, nor is there a perfect symmetry in his features ; his forehead is remarkably high, his nose large and long, eyebrows prominent and projecting over a fine animated hazel eye. His countenance is interesting and impressive. He converses in broken English and displays the manners and address of an accomplished gentleman. Considering him a French nobleman of distinguished character, and a great favourite of General Washington, I feel myself highly honoured by this interview."

When his health was sufficiently restored, Lafayette took an affectionate leave of Gen. Washington, and accompanied by Doctor Cochrane, resumed his journey on horseback. This last interview was deeply impressive, and has called forth from Lafayette one of the most eloquent and just tributes to the character of Washington, that we have ever met with. Speaking of the affection manifested for him by Washington, he says :

" And how is it possible that he (Washington,) should not have been warmly cherished by his disciple, (Lafayette,) he who, uniting all that is good to all that is great, is even more sublime from his virtues than from his talents ? Had he been a common soldier, he would have been the bravest in the ranks ; had he been an obscure citizen, all his neighbours would have respected him. With a heart and a mind equally correctly formed, he judged both of himself and circumstances with strict impartiality. Nature whilst creating him expressly for that revolution, conferred an honour upon herself ; and to show her works to the greatest possible advantage, she constituted it in such a peculiar manner, that each distinct quality would have failed in producing the end required, had it not been sustained by all the others."

On arriving at Boston, (Dec. 11,) Lafayette found that the Alliance was not yet ready for sea. There was a difficulty in obtaining sailors ; and it was at length concluded to make

up the required number, by accepting several English and Irish deserters and prisoners, who had offered their services for the purpose. Count D'Estaing, whom Lafayette was desirous of meeting, had left Boston. A numerous British fleet under Admiral Byron, had in October sailed from New York for the purpose of attacking the French fleet in Boston harbour. A furious storm drove them to sea, and so damaged, the British vessels as to compel them to put into Newport, to repair. Count D'Estaing took advantage of this circumstance, and sailed on the 3d of November, with his whole fleet, for the West Indies. Although he had thus failed in his plans of co-operation for the campaign of the year, the count was esteemed both by Washington and Lafayette, as a brave and skilful officer; and he left the country as he came to it, the firm friend of the American cause.

Lafayette, after being otherwise in readiness, was detained some days, in expectation of further communications from Congress. The proposed Canada expedition, had been under consideration, while he was at Philadelphia, and since he had left that city. At one time a plan, which had been sanctioned by Lafayette, for the combined operations against Canada of the United States and France, the ensuing summer, had been agreed upon in Congress, and was to have been sent to Doctor Franklin, for the sanction of the French government. In the mean time it was submitted to Gen. Washington, whose disapproval of it led to a reconsideration of the subject. It was eventually decided to abandon the project for the present; and Gen. Washington and President Laurens were directed to communicate this decision to Lafayette. Their letters were delayed, and did not reach Lafayette until after his arrival in France.

At length, not having received the expected communications, Lafayette concluded to set sail, and announced that intention to Gen. Washington in a letter dated January 5th, 1779. In this letter he remarks: "My health is now in the best condition, and I would not remember I was ever sick, were it not for the marks of friendship you gave me on that occasion. My good doctor (Cochrane) has attended me with his usual care and tenderness. He will see me on board, and then return to Head-quarters; but the charge of your friend was entrusted to him till I was on board the frigate. I have met with the most kind hospitality in this

city, and, drinking water excepted, the doctor has done every thing he could to live happy ; he dances and sings at the assemblies most charmingly. \* \* \* Farewell, my beloved general ; it is not without emotion I bid you this last adieu, before so long a separation. Don't forget an absent friend, and believe me, for ever and ever, with the highest respect and tenderest affection."

He did not, however, sail until the 11th, and again took leave of Gen. Washington, as follows :—

*"On board the Alliance, off Boston, 11th Jan., 1779.*

"The sails are just going to be hoisted, my dear general, and I have but time to take my last leave of you. I may now be certain that Congress did not intend to send anything more by me. The navy board and Mr. Nevil write me this very morning from Boston, that the North River is passable ; that a gentleman from camp says, he did not hear of anything like an express for me. All agree for certain that Congress think I am gone, and that the sooner I go the better.

"Farewell, my dear general ; I hope your French friend will ever be dear to you ; I hope I shall soon see you again, and tell you myself with what emotion I now leave the coast you inhabit, and with what affection and respect I am for ever, my dear general, your respectful and sincere friend."

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## CHAPTER XII.

The voyage—Incidents and dangers—Storm—Vessel dismasted—Conspiracy of the crew—Its suppression—Arrival at Brest—Lafayette's feelings—His cordial reception—At Versailles—Affected displeasure of the king—Ludicrous vindication of royal prerogative—Lafayette in temporary exile—The queen's curiosity to see him—His liberation—Gracious reception at court—Becomes the lion of the day—Remembers the patriots of America—Patronised by the queen—Her admiration of Washington—Count de Vergennes—Lafayette negotiates for aid to America—Proposed descent upon the English coast—Paul Jones—Correspondence with—Expedition abandoned—Preparations for an invasion of England, by Spain and France—Lafayette advances money for America—Offers to pledge his fortune—Plans for hiring vessels—For a loan—Letter of Washington—To Franklin—Lafayette's correspondence with Gen. Washington and the President of Congress.

THE destinies of nations, as well as of individuals, are controlled by an overruling Providence. Infidelity, in its affected boldness, may deny it ; but by the conscience of

every sane mind which traces or observes the progress of events, the relation of cause and effect, this sublime truth is admitted. We have marked our young hero, in his incipient progress, overcoming obstacles neither few nor trivial. We have followed him on his ocean path, from the old world to the new. We have seen him in the tented field, amidst the battle's din, courting danger and escaping harm. We have seen him borne down by toil and disease, miraculously rescued from a premature death, which seemed to surrounding friends inevitable. And we have left him, again embarked upon tempestuous seas, his heart pained with parting regrets, and swelling with high purposes and glorious resolves, in behalf of an embryo nation, with whose fate and whose fame his own were to be closely linked, through the long progress of ages.

Nor was the voyage of Lafayette to his native land to be without incidents and dangers. The passage at that season of the year was naturally long and boisterous. Near the Bank of Newfoundland the frigate encountered a violent storm. Her main-top-mast was torn away, she was nearly filled with water, and during a long and dark night, great apprehensions were felt on board that she would go to the bottom. Escaped from this danger of the elements, one of a different character was developed, when about two hundred leagues from the coast of France. A conspiracy was formed by the English and Irish sailors who had been engaged at Boston, to seize the ship and carry it into an English port, where, according to a proclamation of the British government, they would be entitled to the value of the vessel. At the concerted time, a ringleader of the mutiny was to cry out "*A sail!*" which would naturally bring the passengers and officers upon deck, when four pieces of cannon, loaded with cannister shot, prepared by the gunner's mate, were to be discharged among them. An English sergeant on board had also contrived to get possession of some loaded arms, which were to be used in the same manner. If any escaped death, they were to be seized and thrown overboard, except Lafayette, who was to be reserved for the purpose of exchanging him for General Burgoyne. The hour, first named, was four in the morning, but was changed to four in the afternoon. In the mean time, none of the conspirators being capable of navigating the vessel, they disclosed

the plot to an American sailor, who had been employed for a long time on the coast of Ireland, and who, from his acquired Irish accent, they mistook to be an Irishman, and offered him the command of the vessel. He pretended to accede to their proposition; but found an opportunity, about an hour before the time fixed for the execution of the conspiracy, to convey information of the plot to Lafayette and the captain. Rushing, sword in hand, upon deck, followed by the other officers and passengers, assisted by the sailors who were innocent, they seized thirty-one of the culprits, whom they placed in irons. Others, less guilty or dangerous, were reprimanded. A strong guard was placed on deck, and the officers went armed for the remainder of the voyage. None of the French or American sailors were engaged in the conspiracy thus providentially discovered and gallantly suppressed.

Eight days thereafter, (February, 1779,) the Alliance entered safely the harbour of Brest, with the American flag floating from its mast. That flag, which had begun to be known and respected by the civilized world, was recognized with joy, and saluted by the fort. What must have been the feelings of Lafayette on this occasion? They cannot be described or conceived. He had left his country a fugitive, and almost an outcast. Against the advice of his friends and the authority of his government, he had stolen away to join a rebel standard, and to dare a rebel's fate. He returned, clothed with renown, bearing from the land of his adoption to the land of his birth, a name endeared to both. Welcome and honours met him on his arrival, and attended him on his road to Paris, where he repaired with all possible expedition. At Versailles, where he arrived on the 12th of February, he found his wife and family, from whom he had not heard for eight months previous. It was to them an unexpected, and to all a joyful meeting. But Lafayette had left France, in disobedience of the orders of the king; and although France had since become the ally of America, and Lafayette had distinguished himself in the service of both countries, his majesty adopted rather a ludicrous mode, and one not very creditable to his feelings, of vindicating the royal prerogative. Lafayette was forbidden to appear at court; he was banished from the face of royalty—not to a foreign land—not to the *bastile*—but to the Hotel

de Noailles, the splendid residence in Paris of Madame Lafayette's family! He was forbidden to appear abroad, or be seen except by the family. This event by no means diminished the popular feelings in his favour. He was privately visited by members of the cabinet, by whom he was questioned and complimented. The queen, partaking of the general interest, and of woman's curiosity, was desirous of seeing the young hero, whose name was upon all tongues. It was therefore arranged, that he should, before he went into exile, while the queen rode through them, be walking in the grounds at Versailles. True to America, and anxious alone for its fate, Lafayette applied to the French minister, Count Vergennes, to know if the king's orders would prohibit his seeing Doctor Franklin, with whom he had appointed an interview, for the purpose of consulting on American affairs ; and in the same letter, he opened to the count, the object he had in view.

After eight days of *political quarantine*, Lafayette was restored to liberty, and permitted to wait upon the king, by whom he was kindly received, with a gentle reproof for the past and admonition for the future. He at once became the lion of the day, "the observed of all observers." He possessed the confidence of the cabinet, was in high favour at court, and popular with all classes of society. But amidst the exciting scenes of welcome, honours, and festivities, the struggling patriots of America were not forgotten, and projects for aiding their cause, occupied his thoughts. "Accustomed (he says,) to see great interests supported by slender means, I often said to myself that the expense of one *fete* would have organized the army of the United States ; and to clothe that army I would willingly, according to the expression of M. de Maurepas, have unfurnished the palace of Versailles."

The young and beautiful queen, Maria Antoinette, partaking of the general enthusiasm, interested herself warmly in Lafayette's behalf. She procured for him the command of the regiment of king's dragoons. In the audiences which she granted him, she inquired much about America, and particular as to the character of Gen. Washington. Upon this theme, Lafayette was so earnest and eloquent, that the queen and all present were inspired with his enthusiasm ; and when she next saw Dr. Franklin, the queen remarked

to him, with her accustomed good nature and *naivette*, "Do you know, doctor, that Lafayette has really made me in love with your General Washington ? What a man he must be, and what a friend he possesses in the Marquis!"

The Count de Vergennes, an able statesman ; who possessed the implicit confidence of the king, was at the head of affairs. Lafayette lost no time to commence a negotiation with him, and the other members of the French cabinet, in personal interviews and by correspondence, to urge upon them immediate and efficient measures, in aid of America. His efforts were at first attended with great difficulties. There was a reluctance on the part of some of the ministers, to sending new armaments in any case, to America. An idea was entertained, that a peace might be obtained without the expense of another American campaign, and that an attack upon England would facilitate this result. Induced by these views, and desirous of doing something, Lafayette had, previous to the first of April, planned an expedition, for a descent upon the west coast of England. This plan had the sanction of Dr. Franklin and the French minister of marines. A naval force, consisting of the Bon Homme Richard, the Alliance, the Pallas, and Vengeance, frigates, and two smaller vessels, were to be under the command of the celebrated Paul Jones, and the land forces were to be commanded by Lafayette. It was to be under the American flag, and its principal object to levy contributions upon Liverpool, Bristol, and other commercial towns, for the benefit of the American finances. On the 27th of April, Doctor Franklin addressed a letter to Jones, with particular instructions for the expedition ; and stated to him, that, as it was understood to be an American expedition, Lafayette, who was a major-general in that service, would have command of the troops, recommending, harmony, &c. Lafayette also wrote to Jones, and the latter, in reply, said : " So flattering and affectionate a proof of your esteem and friendship, has made an impression on my mind which will attend me while I live. This I hope to prove by more than words. Where men of fine feelings are concerned, there is seldom misunderstanding ; and I am sure I should do violence to my sensibility if I were capable of giving you a moment's pain by any part of my conduct." " I have received from the good Dr. Franklin instructions at large, which do

honour to his liberal mind, and which it will give me the highest satisfaction to execute. I cannot ensure success, but will endeavour to deserve it."

This project, however, which seems not to have had the full confidence of the French ministers, was soon after, firstly on their part, abandoned. On the 22d of May, Lafayette informed Jones of this decision, stating, that military and political reasons had occasioned it, and added, "I am only to tell you, my good friend, how sorry I feel not to be a witness of your success, abilities and glory." "What will be further determined about your squadron, is uncertain, and the ministers are to consult with Dr. Franklin." The project of a more extended enterprise, was the principal cause of abandoning this expedition. Spain was preparing to act with France against England, and a general invasion was to take place, under the combined forces of the two nations. Preparations were immediately commenced on the part of France, which for some time occupied the attention of Lafayette, who was to have an important command in the expedition.

In the mean time, Lafayette relaxed not his exertions to procure aid and supplies, for the present wants of America; and for this purpose he advanced his own funds, and offered even to pledge his entire fortune! In a letter to Count de Vergennes, (April 26,) he submitted a proposition for hiring four ships of the line, with half of their crews, for one year, from the king of Sweden, for the service of the United States. He proposed that the French government should advance the necessary funds for the equipment of the vessels, &c. ; but if that should meet with obstacles, he said, "the government should pledge itself *only in case it should exceed my fortune!*" He had not yet, he added, spoken to Dr. Franklin about the scheme, but had consulted with the Swedish ambassador, whose views were favourable.

Soon after Lafayette was informed, that a loan negotiated in Holland for England, would be withheld, on account of a demand of an additional one per cent. interest. He immediately wrote to Count de Vergennes, for the purpose of securing this loan for America. "I am told (he said) that some profits over and above the commission, might help America to this sum, amounting to above forty millions. I communicated this information to the Chevalier de la

Luzerne, to be imparted to you; but having discharged that duty towards the Americans, I feared lest M. Necker [Minister of Finance] would not share in my earnestness. I have already appropriated twenty millions to bank stock, ten to an expedition, and ten to pay the interest until the final reimbursement."

In the same letter (June 1) he stated to the count, that he had just received information from America, that Congress had changed their determination respecting the joint expedition to Canada. This decision was communicated in letters from President Laurens and General Washington, which were intended to have reached Lafayette before he left Boston. Before the receipt of this information, however, the French government had decided against the project. The letter from Washington, enclosed the following to Doctor Franklin, then in Paris:—

*"Philadelphia, 28th December, 1778.*

"Sir,—The Marquis de Lafayette, having served with distinction as major-general in the army of the United States for two campaigns, has been determined, by the prospect of an European war, to return to his native country. It is with pleasure that I embrace the opportunity of introducing to your personal acquaintance a gentleman, whose merit cannot have left him unknown to you by reputation. The generous motives which first induced him to cross the Atlantick; the tribute which he paid to gallantry at the Brandywine; his success in Jersey, before he had recovered from his wound, in an affair where he commanded militia against British grenadiers; the brilliant retreat, by which he eluded a combined manœuvre of the British forces in the last campaign; his services in the enterprise against Rhode Island; are such proofs of his zeal, military order, and talents, as have endeared him to America, and must greatly recommend him to his prince.

"Coming with so many titles to claim your esteem, it were needless, for any other purpose than to indulge my own feelings, to add, that I have a very particular friendship for him; and that, whatever services you may have it in your power to render him, will confer an obligation on one who has the honour to be—with the greatest esteem, regard, and respect, sir, &c."

This letter, after being delayed in the manner we have stated, was not delivered to Doct. Franklin until long after it came into the hands of Lafayette; and was thus acknowledged by Franklin to Washington, under date March 5th, 1780: "Sir—I received but lately the letter your excellency did me the honour of writing to me in recommendation of the Marquis de Lafayette. His modesty detained it long in his own hands. We became acquainted, however, from

the time of his arrival at Paris ; and his zeal for the honour of our country, his activity in our affairs here, and his firm attachment to our cause, and to you, impressed me with the same regard and esteem for him which your excellency's letter would have done had it been immediately delivered to me."

Lafayette also kept up his correspondence with America, although few of the letters on either side were received, having been lost or intercepted by the enemy. The Chevalier de la Luzerne being sent out by the French government to succeed M. Gerard, as their minister plenipotentiary in America, Lafayette wrote by the opportunity thus afforded, long letters to President Laurens and to Gen. Washington. Both letters are dated at St. Jean d'Angely, near Rochefort, June 12, 1779. We cannot forbear selecting from them such passages as we think will prove interesting to the readers of this volume, as a portion of the history of the man as connected with the times. To the President of Congress, after expressing his gratitude and affection for the Americans, he says :—

" So deeply are those sentiments engraven on my heart, that I every day lament the distance which separates me from them, and that nothing was ever so warmly and passionately wished for, as to return again to that country of which I shall ever consider myself as a citizen ; there is no pleasure to be enjoyed which could equal this, of finding myself among that free and liberal nation, by whose affection and confidence I am so highly honoured ; to fight again with those brother soldiers of mine to whom I am so much indebted. But Congress knows that former plans have been altered by themselves, that others have been thought impossible, as they were asked too late in the year. I will therefore make use of the leave of absence they were pleased to grant me, and serve the common cause among my countrymen, their allies, until happy circumstances may conduct me to the American shores, in such a way as would make that return more useful to the United States. The affairs of America I shall ever look upon as my first business whilst I am in Europe. Any confidence from the king and ministers, any popularity I may have among my own countrymen, any means in my power, shall be, to the best of my skill, and till the end of my life, exerted in behalf of an interest I have so much at heart. What I have hitherto done or said relating to America, I think needless to mention, as my ardent zeal for her is, I hope, well known to Congress ; but I wish to let them know that if, in my proposals, and in my repeated urgent representation for getting ships, money and support of any kind, I have not always found the ministry so much in earnest as I was myself, they only opposed to me *natural fears* of inconveniences which might arise to both countries, or the conviction that such a thing was impossible for the present ; but I

never could question their good will towards America. If Congress believe that my influence may serve them, in any way, I beg they will direct such orders to me, that I may the more certainly and properly employ the knowledge I have of this court and country for obtaining a success in which my heart is so much interested."

\* \* \* \* \*

" The so flattering affection which Congress and the American nation are pleased to honour me with, makes me very desirous of letting them know, if I dare speak so friendly, how I enjoyed my private situation. Happy, in the sight of my friends and family, after I was, by your attentive goodness, safely brought again to my native shore, I met there with such an honourable reception, with such kind sentiments, as by far exceeded any wishes I durst have conceived ; I am indebted for that inexpressible satisfaction which the good will of my countrymen towards me affords to my heart, to their ardent love for America, to the cause of freedom and its defenders, their new allies, and to the idea they entertain that I have had the happiness to serve the United States. To these motives, sir, and to the letter Congress was pleased to write on my account, I owe the many favours the king has conferred upon me ; there was no time lost in appointing me to the command of his own regiment of dragoons, and every thing he could have done, every thing I could have wished, I have received on account of your kind recommendations.

" I have been some days in this small town, near Rochefort harbour, where I have joined the king's regiment, and where other troops are stationed, which I for the moment command ; but I hope to leave this place before long, in order to play a more active part and come nearer the common enemy. Before my departure from Paris I sent to the minister of foreign affairs, (who by the bye, is one of our best friends,) intelligence concerning a loan in Holland, which I want France to make or answer for in behalf of America ; but I have not yet heard any thing on that head. M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne will give you more explicit and fresher news, as he is particularly ordered to do so, and he sets out directly from Versailles. That new minister plenipotentiary I beg leave to recommend most earnestly to Congress, not only as a publick man, but also as a private gentleman. From the acquaintance I have made with him, I conceive he is a sensible, modest, well-meaning man ; a man truly worthy of enjoying the spectacle of American freedom. I hope that by his good qualities and his talents, he will obtain both publick confidence and private friendship.

" Wherever the interest of beloved friends are seriously concerned, candid and warm affection knows not how to calculate, and throws away all considerations. I will frankly tell you, sir, that nothing can more effectually hurt our interest, consequence, and reputation, in Europe, than to hear of disputes or divisions between the whigs. Nothing could urge my touching upon this delicate matter but the unhappy experience of every day on that head, since I can hear, myself, what is said on this side of the Atlantick, and the arguments I have to combat with."

Lafayette's letter, of the same date, to Gen. Washington, is in the same patriotick spirit, intermingled with the fami-

liar sentiments and expressions of personal friendship. Of publick affairs, he remarked :—

“ In referring you to M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne, for what concerns the publick news of this time, the present situation of affairs, and the designs of our ministry, I will only speak to your excellency about that great article, money. It gave me much trouble, and I insisted upon it so much, that the director of finances looks upon me as a devil. France has met great expenses lately ; those Spaniards will not give their dollars easily. However, Dr. Franklin has got some money to pay the bills of Congress, and I hope I shall determine them to greater sacrifices. Serving America, my dear general, is to my heart an inexpressible happiness.

“ There is another point for which you should employ all your influence and popularity. For God’s sake prevent their loudly disputing together. Nothing hurts so much the interest and reputation of America, as to hear of their intestine quarrels. On the other hand there are two parties in France : MM. Adams and Lee on one part, Doctor Franklin and his friends on the other. So great is the concern which these divisions give me, that I cannot wait on these gentlemen as much as I could wish, for fear of occasioning disputes and bringing them to a greater collision. That, my dear general, I intrust to your friendship, but I could not help touching upon that string in my letter to Congress.”

Of his private affairs and official employment, he stated in substance what he had related to President Laurens ; and added : “ What I wish most, my dear general, what would make me the happiest of men, is to join again American colours, or to put under your orders a division of four or five thousand countrymen of mine.” With a confidence that never forsook him, he again repeated, that American independence was “ a certain, undoubted point ; but, (he added,) I wish to see that independence acknowledged with advantageous positions.” America, he said, must show herself in good earnest for war, until such conditions were obtained. Lafayette expressed also, the warm desire of Madame Lafayette and himself, to see Gen. Washington and his lady in France, so soon as peace should be concluded. “ All Europe, (he said,) wants to see you so much, my dear general, that you cannot refuse them that pleasure. I have boldly affirmed that you would pay me a visit after the peace is settled ; so that if you deny me, you will hurt your friend’s reputation throughout the world.”

In a postscript, (dated June 13,) Lafayette informed Gen. Washington, that he had just received orders, by express, to repair immediately to Versailles, to meet the Count de

Vaux, Lieut. General, who was appointed to command the troops of the intended expedition against England. "In that army (he said) I shall be employed in the capacity of aide-maréchal-général des logis, which is, in our service, a very important and agreeable place; so that I shall serve in the most pleasing manner, and shall be in a situation to know every thing, and to render services."

The reply of Gen. Washington to this letter, is dated at West Point, 30th September, 1779. Intermingled with matters at that time of publick interest, it contained renewed proofs of the confidence and friendship with which Lafayette was regarded by Washington; and the evidences of which constitute the highest tributes we can pay to the character and fame of our hero.

"It gave me infinite pleasure to hear from your sovereign, and of the joy which your safe arrival in France had diffused among your friends. I had no doubt that this would be the case; to hear it from yourself adds pleasure to the account; and here, my dear friend, let me congratulate you on your new, honourable, and pleasing appointment in the army commanded by the Count de Vaux, which I shall accompany with an assurance that none can do it with more warmth of affection, or sincere joy, than myself. Your forward zeal in the cause of liberty; your singular attachment to this infant world; your ardent and persevering efforts not only in America, but since your return to France, to serve the United States; your polite attention to Americans, and your strict and uniform friendship for me, have ripened the first impressions of esteem and attachment which I imbibed for you into such perfect love and gratitude, as neither time nor absence can impair. This will warrant my assuring you that, whether in the character of an officer at the head of a corps of gallant Frenchmen, if circumstances should require this; whether as a major-general, commanding a division of the American army; or whether, after our swords and spears have given place to the ploughshare and pruning-hook, I see you as a private gentleman, a friend and companion, I shall welcome you with all the warmth of friendship to Columbia's shores; and, in the latter case, to my rural cottage, where homely fare and a cordial reception shall be substituted for delicacies and costly living. This, from past experience, I know you can submit to; and if the lovely partner of your happiness will consent to participate with us in such rural entertainment and amusements, I can undertake, in behalf of Mrs. Washington, that she will do everything in her power to make Virginia agreeable to the Marchioness."

"You are pleased, my dear marquis, to express an earnest desire of seeing me in France, after the establishment of our independency, and do me the honour to add, that you are not singular in your request. Let me entreat you to be persuaded, that, to meet you anywhere, after the final accomplishment of so glorious an event, would contribute to

my happiness ; and that to visit a country to whose generous aid we stand so much indebted, would be an additional pleasure ; but remember, my good friend, that I am unacquainted with your language, that I am too far advanced in years to acquire a knowledge of it, and that, to converse through the medium of an interpreter, upon common occasions, especially with the ladies, must appear so extremely awkward, insipid, and uncouth, that I can scarcely bear it in idea. I will, therefore, hold myself disengaged for the present ; but when I see you in Virginia, we will talk of this matter, and fix our plans."

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### CHAPTER XIII.

Lafayette continues his efforts in behalf of America—Prohibited by Congress from asking the aid of land forces—On his own responsibility, solicits from the French ministers a naval armament, money, clothing, and a large body of auxiliary troops—His plan for the expedition—Urges immediate action—Sword from Congress, presented by Dr. Franklin—Description of it—Letter of Dr. Franklin—Lafayette's reply—Letters to Gen. Washington and President Lawrence—Abandonment of the expedition against England—Summary of the campaign of 1779, in America—Renewed efforts of Lafayette—Finally successful—Plan of the expedition agreed upon—Stipulations honourable to the Americans—Lafayette's instructions from the French Government—Sails again for America.

THE favourite project of Lafayette, for an attack upon Canada having been abandoned, he did not permit the contemplated expedition against England to divert him from projects which he deemed more important to the cause of America. To these projects he now gave increased attention. The popular feeling in America was strong against the employing of foreign troops. The difficulties with the French troops at Rhode Island, were fresh in mind, and were calculated to increase those natural jealousies which existed. Lafayette had therefore been enjoined by Congress, not to ask the aid of land forces from his government. But, he foresaw that such aid would be needed ; that it might arrive at a critical and an acceptable moment, and be decisive of the fate of America. He, therefore, with true greatness of soul and decision of character, took the responsibility of acting, and urged upon the French ministers, not only the propriety of sending a large naval armament, which should secure a decided naval superiority upon the American coast, with money, clothing, and munitions of

war for the army, but that these should be accompanied by a large body of auxiliary troops. To his repeated solicitations, they yielded by degrees. By request of Count de Vergennes, Lafayette submitted to him in writing, under date of July 18, his views for an expedition to America. This plan occupies a space equal to more than twelve pages of this work. The details are not essential to our purpose. They embraced a proposal for four thousand troops "well aware (he said) that a proposition on a large scale would not be acceded to." In the commencement he remarked :

" The state of America, and the new measures which the British appear to be adopting, render this expedition more than ever necessary. Deserted coasts, ruined ports, commerce checked, fortified posts whence expeditions are sent, all seem to call for our assistance, both by sea and land. The smallest effort made now, would have more effect on the people than a great diversion at a more distant period ; but besides the gratitude of the Americans, and particularly of the oppressed states, a body of troops would insure us a great superiority on that continent. In short, sir, without entering into tedious details, you know that my opinions on this point have never varied, and my knowledge of this country convinces me, that such an expedition, if well conducted, would not only succeed in America, but would be of very essential service to our own country."

In conclusion, he said :

" For my own part, you know my sentiments, and you will never doubt that my first interest is to serve my country. I hope, for the sake of the publick good, that you will send troops to America. I shall be considered too young, I presume, to take the command, but I shall surely be employed. If, in the arrangement of this plan, any one, to whom my sentiments are less known than to yourself, in proposing for me either the command or some inferiour commission, should assign as a reason, that I should thereby be induced to serve my country with more zeal either in council or in action, I take the liberty (putting aside the minister of the king) to request M. de Vergennes to come forward as my friend, and to refuse, in my name, favours bestowed from motives so inconsistent with my character."

This communication made a favourable impression, and was destined to lead to important results. The expedition to England, however, not being yet abandoned, the French cabinet was inclined to postpone further operations in America, until another season. Lafayette was for immediate action, although upon a moderate scale. In reply to a letter of Count de Vergennes, relative to the plan he had submitted, (Havre, 30th July,) Lafayette said : " Being convinced that there is no time to lose in adopting the

measures which I propose, my love for my country makes me feel an impatience, which I fear may pass for importunity ; but you will excuse a fault arising from a feeling which is dear to every good citizen." \* \* \* " You are certainly right in saying, my blood is in fermentation." \* \* \* " You know, I hope, that any arrangement and any station will satisfy me, and that I do not claim promotion, or assistance, or any mark of favour whatsoever. If M. D'Orviliers, or a detachment, is now in the independent states of America, and my presence there can be in any way more serviceable than here, I shall be very willing to go over in an American frigate, which I will take on my own authority ; and with the very natural pretext of rejoining the army in which I served, I will go and endeavour to use my influence for the advantage of my country."

In case the project of combined operations with a squadron and land forces, should not be adopted that year, for want of means, Lafayette proposed that two or three thousand men, with three hundred dragoons, should be sent to Boston, to act in the mean time with the American army, and to be joined in the spring by ships of war and a re-enforcement of troops. He added :

" You have told me to give you all my ideas. It is my duty to submit to you this last one, which, as it seems to me, is not liable to any objection. At first I was afraid of expressing my opinion so strongly as I was inclined to do, lest I should be suspected of peculiar motives and predilections ; but now that people must know me better, and that you have my entire confidence, I speak more freely, and I solemnly affirm, upon my honour, that if half my fortune was spent in sending succours of troops to the Americans, I should believe that, in so doing, I rendered to my country a service more important than this sacrifice."

The sword, which Congress had directed Dr. Franklin to procure and present to Lafayette, was now prepared. It was appropriately devised and splendidly executed, by the best artists. The knob of the handle exhibited on one side, a shield, with Lafayette's arms, a marquis's coronet, surmounted by a streamer, on which his motto *cur non*, was inscribed. On the other side was a medallion, representing the first quarter of the moon, whose rays were shed over the sea, and the land of the American continent, which is seen in the horizon. In the foreground, was the coast of France, surrounded by a scroll, on which was inscribed the words *crescam ut prosim*—in reference to the rising liberty and

subsequent prospects of America. In the centre of the handle on each side, were two oblong medallions. The first represented Lafayette with his sword drawn, and his foot upon the prostrate British lion, in the attitude of inflicting upon it a mortal wound, but pausing, extending his hand, and seeming inclined to spare the life of his victim. On the other medallion, America was represented under the device of a young half clad female, seated beneath a military tent, with one hand holding up her broken fetters, and with the other presenting a laurel branch to Lafayette. Other devices, of arms, laurel crowns, &c. encircled the handle, and on one side of the guard. On the other, were the words, "*From the American Congress to Marquis de Lafayette, 1779.*" On the curved parts of the guard were represented in medallions, four memorable events of the American war, in which Lafayette acted a distinguished part.—1. *The Battle of Gloucester.* 2. *Retreat of Barren Hill.* 3. *Battle of Monmouth.* 4. *Retreat of Rhode Island.* Fac-similies of these views are given in those portions of this work where the events to which they relate are respectively recorded.

Lafayette being still at Havre, Dr. Franklin forwarded the sword to him, with the following letter :

" *Passy, 24th August, 1779.*

" Sir,—The Congress, sensible of your merit towards the United States, but unable adequately to reward it, determined to present you with a sword, as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgment: they directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principle actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct, are therefore represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By the help of the exquisite artists of France, I find it easy to express everything but the sense we have of your worth, and our obligations to you for this, figures, and even words, are found insufficient; I, therefore, only add that, with the most perfect esteem, I have the honour to be."

B. FRANKLIN.

" P. S. My grandson goes to Havre with the sword, and will have the honour of presenting it to you."

Lafayette replied, as follows :

" *Havre, 29th August, 1779.*

" Sir,—Whatever expectation might have been raised from the sense of past favours, the goodness of the United States to me has ever been such, that on every occasion it far surpasses any idea I could have conceived. A new proof of that flattering truth I find in the noble present, which Congress has been pleased to honour me with, and which

is offered in such a manner by your excellency as will exceed everything, but the feelings of an unbounded gratitude.

"In some of the devices I cannot help finding too honourable a reward for those slight services which, in concert with my fellow soldiers, and under the god-like American hero's orders, I had the good fortune to render. The sight of those actions, where I was a witness of American bravery and patriotick spirit, I shall ever enjoy with that pleasure which becomes a heart glowing with love for the nation, and the most ardent zeal for its glory and happiness. Assurances of gratitude, which I beg leave to present to your excellency, are much too inadequate to my feelings, and nothing but such sentiments can properly acknowledge your kindness towards me. The polite manner in which Mr. Franklin was pleased to deliver that inestimable sword, lays me under great obligations to him, and demands my particular thanks.

"With the most perfect respect, I have the honour to be, &c."

On the 7th of October, from Havre, Lafayette wrote again to Gen. Washington and President Laurens. In these letters was shadowed forth the failure of the so long talked of expedition to England. His letter to Gen. Washington was couched in the same confidential and affectionate language which distinguish their mutual correspondence. He speaks to him of publick affairs, the projected expedition, and expresses an ardent desire of again serving under his beloved general, in the armies of America.

"From an American newspaper (he adds) I find that a certain English intelligence had been propagated through the United States, that at the head of fifteen hundred officers or non-commissioned officers, I was going to embark for America, and that, with soldiers of your army embodied under them, I wanted to teach military discipline throughout the *American army*. However remote I am from thinking of teaching my own masters, and however distant from such views was that command in France, whose end you very well know, I could not help taking it as a reflection on the *American army*. The English troops may remember that on some particular occasions I have not had to lament the want of discipline and spirit in the troops which I had the honour to command. Whilst we have but the same British army to fight with, we need not be looking out for any other improvement than the same qualities which have often enabled my fellow American soldiers to give, instead of receiving, pretty good lessons to an enemy, whose justly-reputed courage added a new reputation to American bravery and military conduct.

"The above article, my dear general, I beg you will have *printed in the several newspapers*."

The dilatory movements of Spain, the dispersion of the combined fleets, when off the coast of England, by a storm, and the loss of five thousand men by an epidemick, with

other causes, led at length to the abandonment of the expedition against England, for which such formidable preparations had been made. The year 1779 closed, therefore, upon the demonstrations of France and the exertions of Lafayette, without producing any direct aid or benefit to the cause of America.

In the mean time the campaign in America had been conducted principally upon the defensive—a plan of operations which Congress and Gen. Washington were induced to adopt, from the exhausted state of the country, the depreciation of the currency, and the difficulty of recruiting and supplying the army. There seemed to be a relaxation of the publick energies, which was, perhaps, but a necessary repose, preparatory to more efficient exertions. Many events, however, of interest occurred, the details of which belong rather to history than to this memoir. Among these, were the successful and memorable expedition of Sullivan against the Indians; the taking of the forts at Verplanck's Point and Stony Point by the British, and the re-taking of the latter, by the detachment under Wayne, one of the most brilliant exploits of the revolution; and the gallant enterprise of Major Henry Lee, in which the enemy's post at Paulus Hook was surprised and one hundred and fifty-nine prisoners taken. The main body of the British forces continued in New York during the summer, from whence, by detachments, a system of devastation and plunder was pursued. A detachment under Gen. Mathews, burnt and plundered in Virginia. Gen. Tryon, with another detachment, inflicted a similar fate upon New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk, in Connecticut. The enemy having failed in an attack upon Charleston, ravaged the defenseless settlements on the coast of South Carolina. They took possession of Savannah, in Georgia, and strongly fortified their position. Count D'Estaing, with the French fleet, after successful operations in the West Indies, having taken St. Vincent and Grenada, and had an engagement with the British fleet under Admiral Byron, in which the vessels of the latter were severely crippled, repaired to the southern coast of America. He was anxious to redeem his standing with the Americans, and render them essential service. In conjunction with the American troops under Gen. Lincoln, he laid siege to Savannah; and, on the 9th of October, impa-

tient from the lateness of the season and the necessities of his fleet, made an unsuccessful assault, in which the French and Americans suffered severely, and Count Pulaski, the brave Polish exile and volunteer in our cause, was mortally wounded. Count D'Estaing soon after returned to Europe; but his re-appearance on our coast, had caused the enemy to evacuate Rhode Island, and also Stony Point and other posts on the Hudson, for the purpose of strengthening themselves at the south. In December, Sir Henry Clinton sent seven thousand troops to South Carolina; and Gen. Washington directed two of the North Carolina regiments and the whole of the Virginia line, to enforce Gen. Lincoln's army at Charleston. During this season, the strong fortifications at West Point and its vicinity were principally constructed; and for this purpose two thousand five hundred men were a part of the time on daily fatigue duty. At the end of the campaign, Gen. Washington with his army went into winter quarters at Morristown, with strong detachments at West Point, and other posts near the Hudson.

By the failure of the projected expedition against England, Lafayette was left free, and under more auspicious circumstances, to pursue his plans for direct aid to America. With renewed diligence, he appealed to the national pride, the good faith, the honour and interest of the French government, and with more success than he had reason to anticipate. On the 2d of February, 1780, by previous request he submitted to Count de Vergennes suggestions which were essentially adopted as the basis of an expedition to America. The naval force was to consist of six ships of the line, with the requisite number of transports, commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay. They were to take out twelve battalions of infantry, with the proper compliment of artillery for sieges and field service, amounting in all to six thousand men, under the command of Major-General the Count Rochambeau, a brave and experienced officer. These troops, as had been expressly stipulated by Lafayette, were to be considered as auxiliaries; their commander, when in America, was in all cases to be under the command of Gen. Washington; and when united, the American troops were to take the right, and the American officers of equal rank and the same date of commission, were to have the command.

Upon these principles, the instructions of Gen. Rochambeau were framed, and cautiously guarded, so as to prevent misunderstanding or collision, and to ensure harmony of feeling and action between the French and American troops and officers. Having gained thus much, Lafayette also solicited large supplies of clothing, arms and munitions of war, for the American army. These were promised to be sent with the fleet, and the expedition was to be ready to sail the fore part of April. Lafayette was to have no command in the expedition; but was to repair as soon as practicable to America, and resume his service as an American officer. By his instructions from the French minister (Vergennes) he was directed "to proceed immediately to join General Washington, and communicate to him the secret, that the king, willing to give the United States a new proof of his affection, and of his interest in their security, is resolved to send to their aid, at the opening of Spring, six vessels of the line and six thousand regular troops of infantry." He had also explicit instructions and ample powers to arrange for the reception of the French fleet and forces in America, and for their co-operation with those of the United States. The French frigate *Hermoine* was assigned to him for the voyage, and he sailed from Isle of Aix, near Rochelle, on the 19th of March, 1780.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

Lafayette arrives at Boston—Letter to Gen. Washington—Joy at his return—Repairs to Head-quarters—His reception—Visits Philadelphia—Welcomed by Congress—Plans for future operation—Deplorable state of the army and country—Efforts of Washington, seconded by Lafayette—Patriotick exertions of the ladies of Philadelphia—Liberal subscription of Lafayette—Arrival of the French fleet—Lafayette commissioned to meet it—Authorized to confer with the French admiral and general—Negotiations and correspondence—Zeal and perseverance—Plans of attack—Causes of embarrassment and delay—Approval of Washington.

THE gales which wafted their brave champion once more to the land of struggling freemen, were propitious. The tide of fortune had turned towards the coast of America. The *Hermoine* arrived off Boston, the 27th of April, and

Lafayette, with joyful heart, thus announced his approach to Gen. Washington :—

*“At the entrance of Boston harbour, April 27, 1780.*

“Here I am, my dear general, and, in the midst of the joy I feel in finding myself again one of your loving soldiers, I take but the time to tell you that I came from France on board a frigate which the king gave me for my passage. I have affairs of the utmost importance which I should at first communicate to you alone. In case my letter finds you anywhere this side of Philadelphia, I beg you will wait for me, and do assure you a great publick good may be derived from it. To-morrow we go up to the town, and the day after I shall set off in my usual way to join my beloved and respected friend and general.

“Adieu, my dear general; you will easily know the hand of your young soldier.

“My compliments to the family.”

Lafayette was received at Boston with the greatest enthusiasm, and amidst the roar of cannon and the ringing of bells, escorted to the residence of Gov. Hancock. These were spontaneous tributes to his personal worth and services; for neither the people nor the publick authorities, yet knew of the important aids he had secured for their country. They knew, however, that he brought with him a heart devoted to their cause, with the ability, as well as the disposition, to serve it efficiently, and for these they valued most highly, and welcomed him sincerely. Nor did the news of his return excite less emotion, wherever it was communicated. The feelings of Gen. Washington are manifested in his reply to the foregoing letter :—

*“Morristown, May 8, 1783.*

“MY DEAR MARQUIS,—Your welcome favour of the 27th of April came to my hands yesterday. I received it with all the joy that the sincerest friendship would dictate, and with that impatience which an ardent desire to see you could not fail to inspire. I am sorry I do not know your route through the State of New York, that I might with certainty send a small party of horse, all I have at this place, to meet and escort you safely through the Tory settlements, between this place and the North River. At all events Major Gibbs will go as far as Compton where the roads unite, to meet you; and will proceed from thence, as circumstances may direct, either towards King’s Ferry or New Windsor. I most sincerely congratulate you on your safe arrival in America, and shall embrace you with all the warmth of an affectionate friend, when you come to Head-quarters, where a bed is prepared for you. Adieu till we meet. Yours, &c.”

Lafayette proceeded immediately from Boston to the Head-quarters of Gen. Washington, where his reception,

by the Commander-in-chief and the whole army, was most cordial. After the first greeting, he disclosed to Gen. Washington, in a private interview, the nature and extent of the aid which was to follow him from the French government.

To the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Washington wrote the day after Lafayette's arrival, (May 11th): "You will participate in the joy I feel at the arrival of the Marquis Lafayette. No event could have given me greater pleasure on a personal account, and motives of publick utility conspire to make it agreeable. He will shortly have the honour to wait upon your excellency, and impart matters of the greatest moment to these states. He announces a fresh and striking instance of the friendship of your court, which cannot fail to contribute greatly to perpetuate the gratitude of this country."

The preparations for the French expedition, had thus far been managed with great secrecy. By his instructions, as will have been seen, Lafayette on his arrival in America was to repair immediately to Gen. Washington, communicate to him the secret, and make with him arrangements for the co-operation of the French and American forces. He was then to proceed to Philadelphia, see first M. de la Luzerne, and according to the advice of Gen. Washington, concurred in by the French minister, disclose or not the secret and the details of the expedition to Congress. Gen. Washington, however, was reluctant to take upon himself the responsibility of arranging a plan of combined operations. It was therefore concluded that Lafayette should proceed immediately to Philadelphia, to concert further measures with the French minister, and particularly as to the expediency of acquainting Congress of the expected arrival of the French troops, while in the mean time Gen. Washington was to apply himself with all possible activity to hasten forward troops and collect provisions. After a brief stay, therefore, of two days at Head-quarters, Lafayette, with his usual zeal and alacrity, set out for Philadelphia. He bore with him the following letter, from Gen. Washington to the President of Congress:—

" Morristown, 13th May, 1780.

" SIR,

" The Marquis de Lafayette will have the honour to deliver to you this letter. I am persuaded Congress will participate in the joy I feel

at the return of a gentleman, who has so signally distinguished himself in the service of this country, who has given so many and so decisive proofs of his attachment to its interests, and who ought to be dear to it from every motive. The warm friendship I have for him conspires with considerations of publick utility to afford me a double satisfaction in his return. During the time he has been in France, he has uniformly manifested the same zeal in our affairs, which animated his conduct while he was among us; and he has been upon all occasions an essential friend to America. He merits, and I doubt not Congress will give him, every mark of consideration in their power. I have the honour to be, &c."

On his arrival in Philadelphia, Lafayette was greeted with the warmest publick and private demonstrations of welcome. A resolution was promptly adopted by Congress, (May 16,) declaring, that his return to America to resume his command, was considered by Congress "as a fresh proof of the disinterested zeal and persevering attachment, which have justly recommended him to the publick confidence and applause, and that they receive with pleasure a tender of the further services of so gallant and meritorious an officer."

As the French fleet was to have sailed about the first of April, its arrival was daily expected. On the 16th May, Gen. Washington wrote to Lafayette: "Since you left me I have more fully reflected on the plan which it will be proper for the French fleet and army to pursue, on their arrival upon the coast; and it appears to me, in the present situation of the enemy at New York, that it ought to be our first object to reduce that post, and that it is of the first importance not to lose a moment to repair to that place." He therefore advised Lafayette to write to the French general and admiral, in conformity with these views. On the 19th, he writes: "I impatiently wait, my dear Marquis, to know the result of the arrangements you were to make with Congress. The time glides away so fast, and we have so little before us, that every moment is infinitely precious and ought to be improved." He suggested publishing an address to the Canadians, and to the Indians, and the insertion in the papers of a paragraph to the effect, that the Marquis Lafayette had brought intelligence that a large land and naval force was to be sent out by France, and that an attack on New York was intended. These publications, he supposed, would have a tendency to deceive and distract the enemy.

Lafayette despatched M. de Galvan, a French officer in

the service of the United States, to Cape Henry, to await the arrival of the French fleet. He enclosed Gen. Washington's letter of the 16th, in one to Count Rochambeau, in which he gave to the count a statement of his arrival and reception, and the state of affairs in America. He advised, in conformity with the views of Gen. Washington, that the French fleet should sail immediately for Sandy Hook, deeming the circumstances favourable to a combined attack upon New York.

Congress, being made acquainted with the nature of the expected expedition, resolved, on the 20th May, that the Commander-in-chief, "after receiving such communications from the Marquis de Lafayette as he had to offer, should take such measures for carrying on the operations of the campaign as would effectually promote the purposes in view." A committee was also appointed, consisting of Philip Schuyler, John Mathews, and Nathaniel Peabody, to confer with M. de la Luzerne and Gen. Washington, and to correspond with the governors of the states, in reference to supplies for the French forces, &c.

In a letter of May 20th, of little publick interest, Gen. Washington says to Lafayette: "Finish your business as soon as you can, and hasten *home*, for so I would always have you consider Head-quarters and my house." Lafayette obeyed this injunction, with as much cordiality as it was given, and soon after returned to Head-quarters to await the arrival of the French fleet and army.

At this period, the American army was in a deplorable state of suffering, from the want of both food and clothing. There was such neglect on the part of the states who were to furnish them quotas of supplies, and indifference among the people, as caused even Washington himself almost to despair. "Indeed (he says to President Reed, of Pennsylvania,) I have almost ceased to hope. The country in general is in such a state of insensibility and indifference to its interests, that I dare not flatter myself with any change for the better." In the same letter he remarks: "This is a decisive moment; one of the most, I will go further and say, *the* most important America has seen. The court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance, and if we disappoint its intentions by our supineness, we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind; nor can

we after that venture to confide, that our allies will persist in an attempt to establish what we want inclination or ability to assist them in." Mr. Madison entertained similar apprehensions. In a letter to Mr. Jefferson, dated June 2d, he said, in reference to the expected auxiliary armament from France: "However anxiously its arrival may be wished for, it is much to be feared we shall continue to be so unprepared to co-operate with them, as to disappoint their views, and to add to our distress and disgrace. Scarce a week, and sometimes scarce a day, but brings us a most lamentable picture from Head-quarters. Strong appeals were made, through Congress and the several state authorities, to arouse the energies of the nation, and to place the army in a condition to co-operate efficiently with the French forces on their arrival. In these efforts, under these trying circumstances, Washington found in Lafayette a faithful auxiliary. Indeed, when we consider the state of the army and the country, at this time, from the depreciation of the paper currency, the indifference of publick feeling, and the divided councils which prevailed—we must admit that to the exertions of Lafayette, which secured, against the advice of America itself, the aid of an armed force from France at such a crisis, this country is essentially indebted for the establishment of its independence. This noble effort of their young champion, and the brave allies he secured to them, enkindled anew the hope and zeal of the American people.

Inspired by the spirit of patriotism, the ladies of Philadelphia raised a large amount by subscription, to supply clothing and necessaries for the army. While this object was in progress, and before he left Philadelphia, Lafayette subscribed to it, in the name of Madame Lafayette, the generous sum of one hundred guineas.

Preparations for the reception of the French forces, and for a prompt and vigorous co-operation with them, were continued throughout the month of June, and their arrival was daily and anxiously expected. At length the welcome intelligence was announced in a letter from Gen. Heath at Providence, to Gen. Washington, dated July 11th, that the French fleet arrived off Newport the day previous, and was then standing into the harbour. This letter was received by Gen. Washington, July 14, and its contents communicated the same day to the President of Congress. "I con-

gratulate Congress, (he said,) on this important event, and entreat them to press every measure in their power to put us, as soon as possible, in a condition to begin the intended co-operation with vigilance and efficiency." Three days thereafter, Lafayette departed from Head-quarters for Newport, with full authority and instructions to arrange with the French general and admiral, measures for future and combined operations. He bore with him a letter from Gen. Washington to the Count de Rochambeau, in which, after expressing, in the name of the American army and in his own, an assurance of their warmest sentiments for allies who had so generously come to their aid, Gen. Washington concludes as follows:—

"The Marquis de Lafayette has been by me desired from time to time to communicate such intelligence, and make such propositions, as circumstances dictated. I think it so important, immediately to fix our plan of operations, and with as much secrecy as possible, that I have requested him to go himself to New London, where he will probably meet you. As a general officer, I have the greatest confidence in him; as a friend, he is perfectly acquainted with my sentiments and opinions. He knows all the circumstances of our army and the country at large. All the information he gives, and all the propositions he makes, I entreat you to consider as coming from me. I request you will settle all arrangements whatsoever with him; and I shall only add, that I shall exactly conform to the intentions of his Most Christian Majesty, as explained in the several papers put into my hands by his order, and signed by his ministers.

"Permit me to refer you to the Marquis de Lafayette for more particular assurances of what I feel on this occasion, which I the more readily do, from a knowledge of his peculiar affection and regard for you."

The instructions of Gen. Washington to Lafayette, comprised the basis of a plan for a combined attack upon the enemy at New York. In his progress to Newport, Lafayette passed several days in calling upon Gov. Trumbull, of Connecticut, Gen. Parsons, the commissary-general, and other persons, to procure and hasten forward troops, and all the arms and ammunition which could be spared from that state, as well to co-operate with the French troops on their landing, as to supply the American army. Of these interviews, he gave an account in several letters, to Gen. Washington.

In the mean time, Gen. Washington announced to the American army, in feeling and complimentary terms, by general order of July 20th, the arrival of the French forces.

He also recommended to the officers of the army, to wear cockades of black and white intermixed, as a symbol of the alliance with France, and a compliment to the French officers, who wore white cockades.

On reaching Newport, (July 25,) Lafayette found the French troops disembarked, and fortifying themselves in a favourable position, covered by the fleet, prepared rather for defensive than offensive operations. They were indeed expecting an attack from the British, having been informed that Gen. Clinton, with a large land and naval force, had left New York with that design. Under these circumstances, Lafayette wrote to Gen. Washington, (July 26) : "We could not speak of our grand operations, and they (the French general and admiral,) are wholly taken in their expectations of the enemy."

Although the fitting out of the French armament had been conducted with the strictest intent of secrecy, and was unknown to the Americans until the arrival of Lafayette; yet the British government had possessed itself of the knowledge of the nature and destination of the expedition, and had communicated the same to Gen. Clinton. He was thus enabled to withdraw a large body of troops from the south to strengthen his position at New York, before the arrival of the French fleet, the departure of which from France had been delayed for one month, by contrary winds and other causes. It was to have sailed the first week of April, but did not sail till the 2d of May. Nor was this delay in the arrival of the fleet, the most serious source of disappointment to the hopes and cause of the Americans. Seven thousand five hundred troops were to have accompanied the expedition: Five thousand five hundred only were sent. And what was a still more serious omission, none of the arms, munitions of war, and clothing, which had been included in the arrangements with Lafayette, and which were so much needed by the American army, had been forwarded. These essential supplies, so unfortunately neglected, were to be sent with the two thousand additional troops by a second division of the armament. The embarrassments thus occasioned to Gen. Washington, were great. In a letter to Lafayette of July 22, he says: "Unless our allies can lend us largely, we can attempt nothing. With every effort we can make, we shall fall short four or five

thousand arms, and two hundred tons of powder." He requests the marquis to ascertain whether the French commander could assist with a loan of that quantity of arms and ammunition, and to inform him without delay, by express. July 27, he says:

"I perceive, my dear marquis, that you are determined to take New York, and that obstacles only increase your zeal. I am sorry that our prospects instead of brightening, grow duller. I have already written you on the subject of arms. There is no probability of our getting the number we want from the states ; so that, without the timely arrival of those we expect, or the assistance of our allies, this alone will prove an insurmountable obstacle. Our levies come in even slower than I expected ; though we have still an abundance of fair promises and some earnest of performance from the Eastern states."

Clinton still threatening the French at Newport with a combined attack, Gen. Washington put the body of his troops under marching orders, and ordered those at West Point to King's Ferry. Of this he informed Lafayette, and requested him to urge upon the council of Massachusetts the necessity of getting ready their supplies, and particularly to "dwell upon the articles of arms and ammunition."

Lafayette anticipated the wishes and promptly obeyed the instructions of Washington. In the preparations for defence against the threatened attack, he was active and useful. Gen. Heath, who commanded the American forces at Rhode Island, had promptly called in the aid of the militia from Connecticut and Massachusetts, and had concerted with Lafayette and the French general and admiral, a regular plan of defence. This was communicated by Lafayette to Gen. Washington, and called forth an expression of his approbation. After some days, however, it was thought that the design of attack had been relinquished by the enemy ; and Lafayette resumed with ardour his negotiations for the furtherance of a combined attack by the French and American forces, upon New York. In the mean time he exerted himself to relieve the disappointment expressed by Gen. Washington, from the want of clothing, and procured from the fleet a small supply, which he forwarded to Headquarters. He also endeavoured, with equal zeal, to procure from the French fleet, and from the governour of Connecti-

cut, a supply of arms and ammunition. He communicated to Gen. Washington the almost hopeless prospect of success in this matter. Gov. Trumbull, of Connecticut, thought there were great difficulties in the way, and Lafayette expressed only the hope, that the French fleet would spare some powder, "not, however, a great deal." Such were the privations and difficulties of the period.

Lafayette laboured with Count Rochambeau, to induce him to consent to immediate offensive operations. The count was disposed to act with caution, and to await the arrival of the second division of his expedition. The progress of these negotiations were regularly reported to Gen. Washington. On the 31st July, Lafayette wrote: "My dear general—In consequence of a note from me, the admiral came to last evening, and offensive ideas gave way to offensive plans. Our conversation was long, and it is not yet ended, but I hasten to write you a summary report of what passed between the count, the chevalier, and myself." The "offensive plans," corresponded with those of Gen. Washington for an attack upon New York—dependent, however, upon the arrival of the expected re-enforcements. In the conclusion of this letter, Lafayette expresses his gratification at the zeal manifested by the French army, and the harmony which prevailed between the French and Americans, as follows:—

"The French army hate the idea of staying here, and want to join you; they swear at those that speak of waiting for the second division; they are enraged to be blockaded in this harbour. As to the dispositions of the inhabitants and our troops, and the dispositions of the inhabitants and the militia for them, they are such as I may wish. You would have been glad the other day to see two hundred and fifty of our drafts that came on from Connecticut without provisions or tents, and who were mixed in such a way with the French troops, that every French soldier and officer took an American with him and divided their bed and their supper in the most friendly manner.

"The patience and sobriety of our militia is so much admired by the French Officers, that two days ago a French Colonel called all his officers together to desire them to take the good examples which were given to the French soldiers by the American troops. So far are they gone in their admirations that they find a great deal to say in favour of General Varnum, and his escort of Militia Dragoons, who fill up all the streets of Newport. On the other hand, the French discipline is such, that chickens and pigs walk between the tents without being disturbed, and that there is in the camp a cornfield, from which not one leaf has been touched. The Tories don't know what to say to it."

But, more positive demonstrations of attack, were soon manifested by the enemy. On the 31st of July, Gen. Washington wrote to Lafayette and Count de Rochambeau, that Sir Henry Clinton had sailed with a force of about eight thousand men, for the purpose of attacking the French position at Newport; and that he (Gen. Washington,) had put his whole army in motion towards New York, for the purpose of attacking it in the absence of Clinton, if the force remaining there did not exceed what he had reason to believe. By the junction of Admiral Graves with Admiral Arbuthnot, about the time of the arrival of the French fleet, the British had secured upon the coast a decided naval superiority. Sir Henry Clinton, therefore, formed a plan of a joint operation of his land and naval forces against the French at Newport, and having marched six thousand troops from New York to Frog's Neck, embarked them on the 27th of July, on board transports to proceed through the sound for that purpose. Such, however, had been the delay, that the French had become well fortified, and the American militia had assembled in large forces, to aid in the defence. Being informed of these facts, and of the rapid march of Gen. Washington towards New York, Sir Henry Clinton deemed it prudent to abandon the expedition. He therefore crossed the sound to Huntington Bay, where the troops were disembarked on the 31st of July, and hastened back to New York.

In the mean time, the exertions of Lafayette had been diverted from his negotiations, to measures of defence. He informed Gen. Washington of these, and that he was to have command of the vanguard of Gen. Heath's forces, on the island. "If the enemy land, (he says,) I will try to oppose it, and the French will come in columns to attack them with fixed bayonets." In the same letter, he says: "If you think seriously of entering on the Island of New York, I am extremely sorry to stay here." He was anxious, in that event, to command the corps which had been assigned to him, and desired Gen. Washington, if there was time, to send for him. The abandonment of the projected attack, however, by Sir Henry Clinton, changed the aspect of affairs. The militia, except about three thousand who were called out for three months, were dismissed from Rhode Island: Gen. Washington retraced his steps, and Lafayette

resumed his conferences with the French commanders. In reference to these, Gen. Washington wrote to him, from Peekskill, August 3d, as follows :—

“ **MY DEAR MARQUIS**—The blunders which have been made with respect to arms, ammunition, and clothing, are serious disappointments. I think, however, from a closer inspection of our means, that we shall be able to collect nearly arms enough to put into the hands of our recruits, and powder enough to undertake the enterprise, if in the course of the operation we can depend on the fifty tons expected from France, and can obtain fifty tons more from the fleet. I would not wish you to press the French general and admiral to any thing to which they show a disinclination, especially to the withdrawing of their troops from Rhode Island before the second division arrives to give them a naval superiority. Should they yield to importunity and an accident happen, either there or here, they would lay the consequences to us. Only inform them what we can do, what we are willing to undertake, and let them entirely consult their own inclination for the rest.” \* \* \* \* \*

“ Your Light Infantry is formed, about two thousand fine men; but the greater part of them without cloathing.”

In a subsequent letter, Gen. Washington expressed his approbation of the course Lafayette had taken at Newport. “ I rejoice, (he said,) in the approbation your countrymen give to mine, and in the marks of mutual good will. The alliance ought to be cemented in affection, and you will be justly dear to both countries for the share you have in binding it by those powerful and pleasing ties.”

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## CHAPTER XV.

Lafayette returns to Head-quarters—His favourite command of Light Infantry—His liberality to it—Thatcher’s description of—Anxious for the attack of New York—Correspondence with Count Rochambeau—The Count offended—Lafayette’s explanations—Admonitory letter of Count Rochambeau—Lafayette accompanies Gen. Washington to Hartford—Interview between the American and French commanders—Return to West Point—Treason of Arnold—Its detection—Arrest of Andre—Lafayette’s account of these events—One of the Board of Officers which tried Andre—Concurs in the expediency of his execution.

LAFAYETTE arrived at Head-quarters on the 7th of August, and took command of the corps of Light Infantry, mentioned near the close of the preceding chapter. This

corps had been selected from the different regiments of the main army, and organized expressly for the command of Lafayette, during the campaign. It consisted of six battalions, of eight companies each, arranged in two brigades, one of which was commanded by Gen. Hand and the other by Gen. Poor. Its station was in advance of the main army. The assignment to him of this corps was a deserved compliment to Lafayette, and was by him highly appreciated. We have seen it described by Gen. Washington, as "two thousand fine men; but the greater part of them without clothing." This afforded to Lafayette a new opportunity of exercising his liberality. He presented to each officer of the corps an elegant sword, and the soldiers were clothed in uniform at his expense. Banners, with appropriate devices, which he had brought from France, were presented to each battalion. Upon one of these a cannon was painted, with the motto, *Ultima ratio*, (the last appeal,) suppressing the word *regnum*, (the king,) as used in Europe; and upon another, a crown of laurel united with a civick crown, with the motto, *No other*. "He infused into this corps (says Thatcher) a spirit of pride and emulation, viewing it as one formed and modelled according to his own wishes, and as deserving his highest confidence. They were the pride of his heart, and he the idol of their regard; constantly panting for an opportunity of accomplishing some signal achievement worthy of his and their character. This corps was pronounced equal to any that could be produced in any country."

Lafayette had embraced the plan of a combined attack upon the enemy at New York, with his usual ardour, and was for prosecuting it with his wonted perseverance. Soon after his return to Head-quarters, he wrote to the French general and admiral, (August 9th,) stating in detail the substance of his late conferences with them at Newport, and the points upon which they had agreed, in reference to future operations. His object was, to obtain from them a confirmation in writing of his own verbal statements, for the eye of Gen. Washington, that there might be no room for misunderstanding between the Commander-in-chief and the commanders of the French fleet and army. This diplomatick formula was not altogether pleasing to Count de Rochambeau. He answered (August 12,) in the spirit of

kindness, but with evident chagrin. He had written, he said, his views in full to Gen. Washington. "I am now, therefore, (he adds,) waiting for his last orders, and I have earnestly requested him to grant me the favour of an interview, that the admiral and I may receive from his own lips the last plan he has decided upon. We should do more in a quarter of an hour's conversation than we could do by multiplied despatches." He justifies the continuance of the French in their position at Rhode Island, as the most prudent and efficient policy which he could adopt, until the arrival of the expected second division of the French forces. Lafayette in reply, disavowed all intention of reflecting upon the general's conduct, and expressed himself hurt, that such an interpretation should have been given to his communication, asking for a written statement of their late conferences. This was done, he said, at the request of General Washington, who believed that the best way of interchanging their views on the subject of the campaign, was to write them down. The only time, he said, when he had taken the liberty of speaking for himself, was when, wearied by the questions which had been put to him by a thousand Americans about the expected second division, and the superiority of the English at that period, he had yielded to his ardent wish of entering at once on action, and to the hope of commencing operations immediately. "If you had heard (he remarked) that second division spoken of, sir, as I have done; if you knew how strongly the English and Tories endeavour to persuade the Americans that France only wishes to kindle, without extinguishing the flame, you would readily conceive, that my desire of silencing these reports might have inspired me, perhaps, with too much warmth. I will confide to you, that, thus placed in a foreign country, my self-love is wounded by seeing the French blockaded at Rhode Island, and the pain I feel induces me to wish the operations to commence." In reference to the proposed interview between General Washington and the French commanders, Lafayette said to them: "I will do all that depends upon me, gentlemen, to prevail upon the General to meet you half way; but from his proximity to the enemy, and from the present situation of the army, which he has never quitted since the war, I fear it will appear to him very difficult to absent himself."

In the conclusion of this interesting correspondence, creditable alike to the feelings and patriotism of Lafayette and the veteran Count Rochambeau, the latter gently reproved his young friend for the impatient ardour he had exhibited ; and repeated the vindication of his own more cautious views, as justified by his long military experience and practice. He repeated his earnest desire for an immediate interview, between Gen. Washington, the French admiral and himself, to consult together upon plans of operation ; and concluded in these words : " It is always the aged father, Rochambeau, who is addressing his dear son Lafayette, whom he loves, and will ever love and esteem until his latest breath."

The interview so anxiously desired by the French general and admiral, was at length consented to by General Washington. He had been reluctant to leave the army, even for this object ; and upon this, as upon other points, his views had been truly represented by Lafayette. But, Admiral Guichen, who was in the West Indies with a French squadron, had been written to by Lafayette, Gen. Rochambeau, and also by Gen. Washington himself, requesting him to come with his squadron to re-enforce the French fleet at Newport ; and Washington had received such information as led him to believe that the Count was then approaching the American coast. Deeming it, therefore, important to be prepared for immediate action against the enemy at New York, should this re-enforcement arrive, he had appointed the interview at Hartford, Conn. on the 20th of September ; and on the 17th, he left the American camp, accompanied by Lafayette and Gen. Knox, with an imposing retinue, for that purpose. This interview, much to the gratification of Lafayette, had a tendency to cement friendly personal relations, and to produce harmonious views of military co-operations, between the French and American commanders ; but, under existing circumstances, no definite plan could be agreed upon, for future action. It was unanimously conceded, that a naval superiority was essential to the projects contemplated. The frigate *Alliance* had arrived from France, with the welcome supply of two thousand stand of arms, several cannon, and a quantity of powder, for the American army ; but with the in-

telligence that the squadron and troops, forming the expected second division of Count de Rochambeau's forces, were blockaded in the harbour of Brest by an English fleet of thirty-two sail. The French at Newport, continued to be blockaded by a superior British force, and it was soon ascertained that Count de Guichen, instead of complying with the request of his American friends, had left the West Indies and sailed for France, while the naval superiority of the English on the coast was rendered still more decided by the arrival of Admiral Rodney at New York, with ten ships of the line. In the mean time, the disastrous news had been received, of the defeat of the American army under Gen. Gates, near Camden, S. C., in which the greater part of his best troops were cut off. From this time, no favourable change of circumstances permitted the contemplated attack upon New York, or any other efficient operation, during the campaign.

We have stated the reluctance of Gen. Washington, to consent to the conference at Hartford, as though he had foreseen that the genius of evil would take advantage of his absence. Nor were his forebodings without cause. The traitor Arnold, availed himself of that opportunity to consummate his treason—a deed of infamy, the essential features of which are known to every American, who is old enough to have read the outlines of his country's history. He had for more than twelve months meditated the act of treason; and had held a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, even while, labouring under the effects of wounds honourably received in the cause of his country, and unfit for active service, he commanded in the city of Philadelphia. For the purpose of striking a more effectual blow, and exacting a higher reward, he had lately solicited and obtained the appointment to the command of the important fortress of West Point. This position he had arranged to deliver to the enemy; and Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, had been deputed by Sir Henry Clinton to negotiate with Arnold the mode and the terms, for accomplishing this nefarious object. Arnold had applied to Washington and to Lafayette, for the names of their secret agents and correspondents in New York; which were of course refused. His intention doubtless was,

to betray those names, and cut off these sources of information. But Washington still reposed implicit confidence in Arnold ; informed him, by letter of 12th September, that he should be at Fishkill on the Sunday evening following, on his way to Hartford, to meet the French admiral and, general, and enjoined him, in conclusion, "you will keep this to yourself, as I wish to make my journey a secret." Arnold met Washington at Fishkill on the 18th, and showed him a letter from Col. Robinson, on board the *Vulture*, (British vessel) requesting an interview with Arnold, to consult upon some private affairs. Washington told him to refuse the interview.

The *Vulture* had been sent up the river by Sir Henry Clinton, with Andre on board, at Arnold's request ; and on the departure of General Washington, he immediately set about the completion of his plan, with a precipitancy and confusion of intellect which probably defeated his purpose. The hand of a righteous Providence was again stretched forth to confound the traitor and to uphold the cause of liberty. Andre came on shore, under the fictitious name of John Anderson, and met Arnold near Long Cove, on the night of the 21st ; and after a long interview, they repaired to the house of Smith, within the lines of the American pickets, to complete their conference. After laying concealed the next day, contrary to his own wish, but by the arrangement of Arnold, he pursued the route by land for New York, instead of returning on board the *Vulture*. In this attempt, as is well known, he was captured near Tarry Town, by Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart, and papers in Arnold's hand-writing, found in his boots, which proved his character, and the treason of Arnold.

Gen. Washington, accompanied by Lafayette, reached West Point, on their return from Hartford, on the morning of the 25th. Instead of going directly to Robinson's house, in which Arnold resided, and which was on the side of the river opposite to West Point, and some distance below, he crossed over, for the purpose of showing to Lafayette the fortifications which had been constructed during his late visit to France ; otherwise they would have been present when Arnold received information of Andre's arrest. The following letter from Lafayette to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, expresses his feelings on the occasion, and all the

facts of the case which may be appropriately inserted in this work :

*"Robinson House, opposite W. Point, Sept. 26, 1780.*

" When I parted from you yesterday, sir, to come and breakfast here with General Arnold, we were far from foreseing the event which I am now going to relate to you. You will shudder at the danger to which we were exposed ; you will admire the miraculous chain of unexpected events and singular chances that have saved us ; but you will be still more astonished when you learn by what instrument this conspiracy has been formed. West Point was sold—and sold by Arnold ; the same man who formerly acquired glory by rendering such immense services to his country. He had lately entered into a horrible compact with the enemy, and but for the accident that brought us here at a certain hour, but for the combination of chances that threw the adjutant-general of the English army in the hands of some peasants, beyond the limits of our stations, West Point and the North River, we should both at present, in all probability, be in possession of the enemy.

" When we set out yesterday for Fishkill, we were preceded by one of my aides-de-camp, and one of General Washington's [Cols. Hamilton and McHenry] who found General Arnold and his wife at breakfast, and sat down at table with them. Whilst they were together, two letters were given to Arnold, which apprised him of the arrestation of the spy. He ordered a horse to be saddled, went into his wife's room to tell her he was ruined, and desired his aid-de-camp to inform General Washington that he was going to West Point and would return in the course of an hour.

" On our arrival here, we crossed the river and went to examine the works. You may conceive our astonishment when we learnt, on our return, that the arrested spy was Major Andre, adjutant-general of the English army ; and when amongst his papers were discovered the copy of an important council of war, the state of the garrison and works and observations upon various means of attack and defence, the whole in Arnold's own hand writing.

" The adjutant-general wrote also to the general, avowing his name and situation. Orders were sent to arrest Arnold ; but he escaped in a boat, got on board the English frigate the *Vulture*, and as no person suspected his flight, he was not stopped at any post. Colonel Hamilton, who had gone in pursuit of him, received soon after, by a flag of truce, a letter from Arnold to the General, in which he entered into no details to justify his treachery, and a letter from the English commander, Robertson, who, in a very insolent manner, demanded that the adjutant-general should be delivered up to them, as he had only acted with the permission of General Arnold.

" The first care of the General has been to assemble, at West Point, the troops that, under various pretences, Arnold had dispersed. We remain here to watch over the safety of a fort, that the English may respect less as they become better acquainted with it. Continental troops have been summoned here, and as Arnold's advice may determine Clinton to make a sudden movement, the army has received orders to be prepared to march at a moment's warning."

The treason of Arnold, and the fortunate escape from its threatened calamity, caused emotions of surprise, indignation, joy, and gratitude, throughout the American continent. The good Count de Rochambeau wrote to Lafayette on the occasion : " Providence has declared itself for us, my dear Marquis, and that important interview, which I have so long wished for, and which has given me so much pleasure, has been crowned by a peculiar mark of the favour of Heaven. The Chevalier de la Luzerne has not yet arrived ; I took the liberty of opening your letter to him, in which I found all the details of that horrible conspiracy, and I am penetrated with mingled feelings, of grief at the event, and of joy at its discovery."

The fate of Andre, inveigled, contrary to his original intention, by a cold-blooded traitor, within the American lines ; tried, condemned, and ignominiously executed as a spy, must be regretted by all who peruse the evidences of his personal worth and amiable character. But it was justified by the usages of war and the stern law of necessity. Lafayette was one of the Board of Officers by whom Andre was tried and condemned ; and while, in common with Gen. Washington and all the officers of the American army, he regretted the ignominious fate of the young Englishman, he concurred fully in the justice and expediency of his sentence and execution.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

Lafayette's continued anxiety, and projects, for active employment—The Chevalier de Chastellux—His visit to the American camp—To Lafayette's encampment—Opinion of Washington and Lafayette—Attack on York Island abandoned—Lafayette's favourite corps disbanded—He repairs to Philadelphia—Proposes to join the southern army—Change in the French ministry—New hopes inspired—Mutiny of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey soldiers—Lafayette's return to Head-quarters—Its object—Mission of Col. Laurens to France—Letters of Lafayette—To Count de Vergennes—To Madame Lafayette.

RE-ESTABLISHED at Head-quarters, and in command of his favourite Light Infantry corps, the inactivity of the army soon became irksome to Lafayette. His mind was constant-

ly occupied with plans to harass the enemy, as well as upon projects for more extended action. This gallant spirit was appreciated by Gen. Washington, and he was ready to gratify it upon every proper occasion. In a letter to Doct. Franklin, dated October 11th, he remarked : " I was very much obliged by the letter, which you did me the honour to write by our amiable friend, the Marquis de Lafayette, whose exertions to serve this country in his own, are additional proofs of his zealous attachment to our cause, and have endeared him to us still more. He came out flushed with expectations of a decisive campaign, and fired with hopes of acquiring fresh laurels ; but in both he has been disappointed ; for we have been condemned to an inactivity as inconsistent with the situation of our affairs, as with the ardour of his temper."

An expedition was projected by Lafayette to surprise the enemy's post upon Staten Island. On the night of the 26th October, he repaired with his light corps to Elizabethtown Point, accompanied by Gen. Lee with his cavalry, for the purpose of making the descent : but there being a failure on the part of those who were to supply boats, and make other necessary preparations, the expedition, much to the mortification and regret of Lafayette, had to be abandoned. " The only advantage (he wrote to Gen. Washington) I have got from it, has been to convince myself that our troops are particularly fit for such an expedition, on account of their patience and silence ; and that if the other business [against N. York] could be supported upon a large scale, I would engage to carry it." " Had I any thing to reproach myself with on the occasion, I should be inconsolable. I undertook the business because I thought myself equal to it ; I wish the people in the quartermaster's department had done the same thing."

Still anxious to close the campaign by some brilliant effort or exploit, on the 30th of October, Lafayette submitted to Gen. Washington, a plan for an attack upon the upper posts of the enemy at New York, and urged its adoption with much earnestness. In reply, Gen. Washington said : " It is impossible, my dear marquis, to desire more ardently than I do to terminate the campaign by some happy stroke ; but we must consult our means rather than our wishes, and not endeavour to better our affairs by attempting things which, for want of success, may make them worse." He had had

an eye, he said, to the point mentioned, but deemed his present force inadequate to the attempt.

But the plan was not entirely abandoned. In the month of November, extensive preparations and reconnoitrings were made, with an ultimate view to this expedition. In the midst of these preparations, the Chevalier de Chastellux, and several of the most distinguished officers of the French army at Newport, paid a visit to the American encampments. The Chevalier de Chastellux, taking advantage of the inactivity of the army, was then on his travels through the middle states, and has given in his valuable work, which is now in few hands, an interesting account of this visit. We have only room for that portion of it which relates to his distinguished countryman. The Chevalier had lodged, on the night of the 22d November, at Haverstraw.

“ The 23d (he says) I set out at eight o’clock, with the intention of arriving in good time at the Marquis de Lafayette’s camp ; for I had learnt that the army was not to move that day, and I was desirous of being presented by him to General Washington. The shortest road was by Paramus ; but my guide insisted on my turning to the northward, assuring me that the other road was not safe, that it was infested by tories, and that he always avoided it, when he had letters to carry. I took the road to the right therefore, and followed for some time the rivulet of Romopog ; I then turned to the left, and soon got into the township of Pompton, and into the Tot-haw road : but being informed that it led me straight to the main body of the army, without passing by the van commanded by M. de Lafayette, I inquired for some cross road to his quarters, and one was pointed out to me, by which, passing near a sort of lake which forms a very agreeable point of view, and then crossing some very beautiful woods, I arrived at a stream which falls into Second river, exactly at the spot where M. de Lafayette was encamped. His posts lined the rivulet ; they were well disposed, and in good order. At length I arrived at the camp ; but the Marquis was not there ; apprised of my coming by the Vicomte de Noailles, he had gone to wait for me at seven miles distance, at Head-quarters, where he thought I should direct my course. He had sent, however, Major Gimat, and one of his aids-de-camp to meet me, but they had taken the two roads to Paramus ; so that by his precautions, and those of my guide, I was, as they say in English, completely disappointed, for it was two o’clock, and I had already travelled thirty miles without stopping. I was in the utmost impatience to embrace M. de Lafayette, and to see General Washington, but I could not make my horses partake of it. It was proposed to me to proceed directly to Head-quarters, because, said they, I might perhaps arrive in time for dinner. But seeing the impossibility of that, and being in a country where I was known, I desired some oats for my horses. Whilst they were making this slight repast, I went to see the camp of the *Marquis*, it is thus they call M. de Lafayette ; the English language

being fond of abridgments, and titles uncommon in America. I found this camp placed in an excellent position; it occupied two heights separated by a small bottom, but with an easy communication between them. The river Totohaw or Second river, protects its right, and it is here that it makes a considerable elbow, and turning towards the south, falls at length into the bay of Newark. The principal part of the front, and all the left flank, to a great distance, are covered by the rivulet which comes from Paramus, and falls into the same river. This position is only twenty miles from New York island; and was accordingly occupied by the vanguard, consisting of light infantry, that is to say, by the picked corps of the American army; the regiments in fact, which compose it, have no grenadiers, but only a company of light infantry, answering to our *Chasseurs*, and of whom battalions are formed at the beginning of the campaign. This troop made a good appearance, were better clothed than the rest of the army, the uniforms both of the officers and soldiers were smart and military, and each soldier wore a helmet made of hard leather, with a crest of horse hair. The officers are armed with espontoons, or rather with half pikes, and the subalterns with fusils: but both were provided with short and light sabres brought from France, and made a present of to them by M. de Lafayette."

His approach to Head-quarters, and introduction to Gen. Washington, are thus described:—

"At length, after riding two miles along the right flank of the army, and after passing thick woods on the right, I found myself in a small plain, where I saw a handsome farm; a small camp which seemed to cover it, a large tent extended in the court, and several wagons round it, convinced me that this was his excellency's quarter; for it is thus Mr. Washington is called in the army, and throughout America. M. de Lafayette was in conversation with a tall man, five foot nine inches high, (about five foot ten inches and a half English,) of a noble and mild countenance. It was the general himself. I was soon off horseback and near him. The compliments were short; the sentiments with which I was animated, and the good wishes he testified for me were not equivocal. He conducted me to his house, where I found the company still at table, although the dinner had been long over. He presented me to the Generals Knox, Wayne, Howe, &c. and to his *family*, then composed of Colonels Hamilton and Tilgman, his secretaries and his aids-de-camp, and of Major Gibbs, commander of his guards; for in England and America, the aids-de-camp, adjutants and other officers attached to the general, form what is called his *family*. A fresh dinner was prepared for me and mine; and the present was prolonged to keep me company. A few glasses of claret and madeira accelerated the acquaintances I had to make, and I soon felt myself at my ease near the greatest and best of men. The goodness and benevolence which characterise him, are evident from every thing about him; but the confidence he gives birth to, never occasions improper familiarity; for the sentiment he inspires has the same origin in every individual, a profound esteem for his virtues, and a high opinion of his talents."

Chastellux became the guest of Gen. Washington. The next day, amidst a rain storm, he reviewed a portion of the troops, and visited, with Gen. Washington, the camp of Lafayette.

“ The rain (he says) appearing to cease, or inclined to cease for a moment, we availed ourselves of the opportunity to follow his excellency to the camp of the Marquis; we found all his troops in order of battle on the heights to the left, and himself at their head; expressing by his air and countenance, that he was happier in receiving me there, than at his estate in Auvergne. The confidence and attachment of the troops, are for him invaluable possessions, well acquired riches, of which no body can deprive him; but what, in my opinion, is still more flattering for a young man of his age, is the influence and consideration he has acquired among the political, as well as the military order: I do not fear contradiction when I say, that private letters from him have frequently produced more effect on some states than the strongest exhortations of the Congress. On seeing him, one is at a loss which most to admire, that so young a man as he should have given such eminent proofs of talents, or that a man so tried, should give hopes of so long a career of glory. Fortunate his country, if she knows how to avail herself of them; more fortunate still should she stand in no need of calling them into exertion !”

To this testimonial, the translator of Chastellux adds, by way of note :—

“ It is impossible to paint the esteem and affection with which this French nobleman is regarded in America. It is to be surpassed only by the love of their illustrious chief. He has found the secret of winning all their hearts: nor to those who know him is it matter of any wonder. In the gentlest, and most courteous manner, he unites a frankness, which is supposed to be not the general characteristick of his countrymen; his deportment is dignified without pride; and his zeal, activity, and enthusiasm in the cause of America, distinct from all the political views of co-operation with the wishes of his court, added to a sincere and uniform admiration of the greatest and best character of the age, completely endeared this excellent young man to grateful America. *The Marquis* was never spoken of in the hearing of the Translator, without manifest tokens of attachment and affection.”

On the 27th November, the advance parties were recalled, and the attack on the enemy’s posts on York Island was finally abandoned. Lafayette, (according to Thatcher,) at the head of his beautiful corps of Light Infantry, constantly advancing in front, was to have commenced the attack in the night, and the whole army was prepared to make a general attack on the enemy’s works. But some movements of the British vessels, and other causes which have

not been publickly stated, induced the relinquishment of this last effort of the campaign, to the renewed disappointment of Lafayette. That Lafayette concurred in the propriety of relinquishing this favourite project, however, may be inferred from a letter to Gen. Washington, dated Nov. 28, at Paramus, where, it would appear, he had gone for the purpose of reconnoitring the upper posts of the British. "We arrived (he said) last night at this place, and were much favoured by the weather in our recognising of the island, where, I confess, my feelings were different from what I had experienced when looking at these forts with a hopeful eye."

Lafayette's brilliant corps of Light Infantry, was disbanded, and the chosen men who composed it were returned to their respective regiments. The whole army (the last of November,) went into winter quarters ; the Pennsylvania line at Morristown, the New Jersey regiments at Pompton, and the eastern troops in the Highlands. Gen. Washington's head-quarters were at New Windsor.

The campaign being thus ended, Lafayette repaired, the fore part of December, to Philadelphia, to be at the focus of intelligence, and the more conveniently to conduct his extensive correspondence, which was entirely devoted to the interests of America. In the gay circles of that city, he might have passed the season in peaceful pursuits, and social enjoyments. But his whole soul was in the cause he had espoused ; he was anxious as ever to be actively employed in that cause, and his mind was continually occupied with plans for its advancement. Even before he left Head-quarters, he had suggested to Gen. Washington, the idea of joining Gen. Greene, who then commanded the army in the southern states, where the campaign was likely to be active and arduous. "I hate (he said,) the idea of being from you for so long a time, but I think I ought not to be idle." From Philadelphia, he corresponded almost daily, with Gen. Washington, communicating to him all that passed, and all that he heard of interest ; and consulting and advising with him upon plans of operation. On the 4th and 5th of December, he again suggests going to the south, provided there should be no prospects of active service at the north ; on which contingency he received Washington's consent, to his joining Gen. Greene. He also informed Gen. Wash-

ington of advices, that the Spaniards were about sending expeditions against the British settlements in the Floridas, and suggested a plan of formidable co-operation with them, against the enemy in South Carolina. "Nothing against New York (he said,) can be undertaken before the end of May. Any thing, therefore, that could employ us during February, March, and April, is worthy of our attention." Washington concurred also with Lafayette in these views, but as no event of importance grew out of the negotiations, a further notice of the correspondence on the subject is unnecessary to our purpose. From one of Gen. Washington's letters, however, we quote the following illustration of the low state of American finances at that period : "The Chevalier de la Luzerne's despatches came in time for the post, which is the only means left me for the conveyance of letters, there not being so much money in the hands of the quartermaster-general, (I believe I might go further and say, in those of the whole army,) as would bear the expense of an express to Rhode Island. I could not get one the other day to ride as far as Pompton !"

About the middle of December, intelligence was received of a change in the French Cabinet, the appointment of the Marquis de Castries, as minister of the marine department, in the room of M. de Sartine, which the friends of America deemed favourable to their cause. The hope from this change, and other circumstances, of additional and speedy aid from France, and hence more early and efficient action at the north, induced Lafayette to abandon his contemplated southern journey.

Lafayette was preparing to leave Philadelphia for Gen. Washington's Head-quarters, when the dangerous mutiny of the soldiers of the Pennsylvania line at Morristown took place. It occurred on the night of January 1st, 1781. About thirteen hundred men paraded in arms, and refused obedience to their officers ; killed one officer and wounded several, in the attempt to restore obedience ; and marched in a body, with six pieces of cannon, to Princeton, on their way to Philadelphia, with the avowed intention of demanding from Congress a redress of their grievances. General Wayne, who commanded at Morristown, followed the mutineers to Princeton, and obtained from them a declaration of their grievances, which were, that many soldiers

had been detained beyond the term of their enlistment; that the arrearages of pay and depreciation of money had not been made up; and that they were suffering every privation for want of money and clothes. Commissioners from the state of Pennsylvania and from Congress, immediately repaired to them at Princeton. Lafayette, leaving Philadelphia for Head-quarters, with Gen. St. Clair and Col. Laurens, and being a great favourite with the soldiers, was requested by Congress to call at Princeton, and aid in the measures of pacification. But so judicious and successful had been the efforts of Gen. Wayne and his associates, towards effecting the compromise, that Lafayette made but a brief stay, and arrived at the Head-quarters of General Washington on the 11th of January. A portion of the troops of the New Jersey line, soon followed the example of those of Pennsylvania; but Washington having promptly despatched Gen. Howe with a detachment consisting of troops which had belonged to Lafayette's corps of Light Infantry, the mutineers were surrounded and subdued, and two of the ringleaders executed.

These circumstances were not the result of actual defections to the cause. They sprang from a state of suffering almost too great for human nature to endure. And it is to the eternal honour of the brave soldiers of that trying crisis, that the fidelity and fortitude of so few of them gave way. While the Pennsylvania troops were yet in a state of mutiny, Sir Henry Clinton transmitted to them a letter, offering them large rewards to join the British standard; but they spurned the base offer, and delivered up the communication, with the two emissaries who brought it, to Gen. Wayne; and these emissaries were tried and executed in the presence of the revolted troops, on the 11th of January. Writing to the Governor of New Hampshire, Gen. Washington said: "The aggravated calamities and distresses that have resulted from the total want of pay for twelve months, the want of clothing at a severe season, and not unfrequently the want of provisions, are beyond description." Such was the state of affairs, the exhausted resources of the country and the want of organized plans and efficient powers for drawing forth those which remained, that a general opinion was prevalent, that without essential aid from France, for the coming campaign, opposition to Brit-

ish dominion must soon be abandoned. Under these circumstances, Col. Laurens, one of the aids of Gen. Washington, was commissioned by Congress to visit France, and impress upon the French government from his personal knowledge, the true state of the country, civil and military; and to solicit those succours, in men, money, supplies for the army, and particularly a naval superiority, which were essential in the then critical posture of affairs. The visit of Col. Laurens, with Lafayette, to Head-quarters, was for the purpose of consulting with Gen. Washington upon the subject of his mission. The views of Washington were expressed to him in writing, full, explicit, and with great clearness and power of language, for the purpose of being submitted to Dr. Franklin, and if expedient, to the French ministers.

Lafayette, also, wrote by Col. Laurens a long letter to the Count de Vergennes, dated January 30th, 1781. He recommended Col. Laurens "as a man who, by his integrity, frankness, and patriotism, must be extremely acceptable to [the French] government. According to the instructions of Congress (he adds,) he will place before you the actual state of our affairs, which demand, I think, more than ever, the most serious attention." He gave to the Count a detailed statement of these affairs, and plead earnestly and ably the cause of the country. He urged it upon the French government, to send promptly, a force of fifteen thousand men; and particularly supplies of money, munitions of war and clothing, to call out and sustain the moral and physical resources of America, which thus sustained, and aided by a naval superiority, he deemed adequate to the crisis. This long and interesting document, we cannot copy entire, consistently with the limits of this volume, but give the following extract, as a specimen of its spirit and design:—

"The last campaign took place without a shilling having been spent; all that credit, persuasion, and force could achieve, has been done,—but that can hold out no longer; that miracle, of which I believe no similar example can be found, cannot be renewed, and our exertions having been made to obtain an army for the war, we must depend on you to enable us to make use of it.

"From my peculiar situation, sir, and from what it has enabled me to know and see, I think it is my duty to call your attention to the American soldiers, and on the part they must take in the operations of

the next campaign. The continental troops have as much courage and real discipline as those that are opposed to them. They are more inured to privation, more patient than Europeans, who, on these two points, cannot be compared to them. They have several officers of great merit, without mentioning those who have served during the last wars, and from their own talents have acquired knowledge intuitively ; they have been formed by the daily experience of several campaigns, in which, the armies being small, and the country a rugged one, all the battalions of the line were obliged to serve as advance-guards and light troops. The recruits whom we are expecting, and who only bear, in truth, the name of recruits, have frequently fought battles in the same regiments which they are now re-entering, and have seen more gun-shots than three-fourths of the European soldiers. As to the militia, they are only armed peasants, who have occasionally fought, and who are not deficient in ardour and discipline, but whose services would be most useful in the labours of a siege. This, sir, is the faithful picture that I think myself obliged to send you, and which it is not my interest to paint in glowing colours, because it would be more glorious to succeed with slighter means. The Chevalier de la Luzerne, who, having himself seen our soldiers, will give you a detailed and disinterested account of them, will doubtless tell you, as I do, that you may depend upon our regular troops. The result of this digression, sir, is, to insist still more earnestly on the necessity of sending money to put the American troops in movement, and to repeat that well known truth, that a pecuniary succour and a naval superiority must be the two principal objects of the next campaign."

This communication, and others from Lafayette to influential persons in France, contributed greatly to the success of Col. Laurens' mission. He wrote also to Madame Lafayette, recommending Col. Laurens particularly to her kindness and attention. "If I were in France, (he wrote,) he should live entirely at my house, and I would introduce him to all my friends, (I have even introduced him to some by letter,) and give him every opportunity in my power of making acquaintance, and of passing his time agreeably at Versailles ; and in my absence I entreat you to replace me." In the same letter he said : "The Americans continue to testify for me the greatest kindness ; there is no proof of affection and confidence which I do not receive each day from the army and nation. I experience for the American officers and soldiers that friendship which arises from having shared with them for a length of time, dangers, sufferings, and both good and evil fortune. We began by struggling together ; our affairs have often been at the lowest possible ebb. It is gratifying to me to crown this work

with them, by giving the European troops a high idea of the soldiers who have been formed with us. To all these motives of interest for the cause and the army, are joined my sentiments of regard for Gen. Washington." \* \* \*

\* \* \* "Embrace our children a thousand and a thousand times for me ; their father, although a wanderer, is not less tender, not less constantly occupied with them, and not less happy at receiving news from them. My heart dwells with peculiar delight on the moment when those dear children will be presented to me by you, and when we may embrace and caress them together."

These proofs of Lafayette's affection for his family, are as honourable as a laurel crown. Their only son, of recent birth, had been named by Madame Lafayette, *George Washington* ; with which compliment Gen. Washington had expressed himself highly pleased.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

Arnold in Virginia—Contemplated expedition for his capture—Lafayette assigned to the command of a southern detachment—His preparations and rapid progress—Intended co-operation of the French fleet—Action between the French and English fleets—The enemy's fleet gains possession of the Chesapeake Bay—Lafayette retires—Visit to the mother of Washington—Arrives with his forces at the Head of Elk—Meets the orders of Gen. Washington to repair with his detachment to Virginia—Sufferings, discontent and mutiny of the soldiers—Lafayette suppresses the mutiny, and borrows money to relieve the wants of the soldiers—Their devotion to him—Leave to return—Declined by Lafayette—His rapid march—Reaches Richmond in advance, and to the astonishment, of Phillips and Arnold—Commencement of the Virginia campaign—Lafayette's vigilance and prudence—His account of events—Death of Gen. Phillips—Command devolves on Arnold—Lafayette refuses to correspond with him—Approval of Gen. Washington.

THE ardent desire of Lafayette for active service, was soon gratified. To him was assigned the first movement, the turning pivot of the plan of operations, in the decisive campaign of 1781—a campaign in which he was destined to act so distinguished a part, and which was to crown with glorious success the long and arduous struggle for the independence of America.

The traitor Arnold was sent by Sir Henry Clinton, with about sixteen hundred men and several vessels suitable for the service, to the Chesapeake, where he arrived about the first of January. He succeeded in Virginia, Gen. Leslie, who had gone to re-enforce the British army in the Carolinas. During the month of January, Arnold exhibited a savage zeal for the new cause he had espoused, by burning Richmond, plundering private property, and committing extensive depredations in the lower part of the state; and was intrenching himself at Portsmouth, on the Elizabeth River, conformably to the design of Sir Henry Clinton. On the 22d of the month, the British squadron in Gardner's Bay, by which the French fleet at Newport was held in blockade, was severely crippled by a violent gale. The naval ascendancy thus being restored to the French, M. Destouches, successor to Admiral Ternay, who had died on the 15th of December, after reconnoitring the enemy's fleet, and finding it still too formidable to justify an attack, conceived the plan of sending a detachment of vessels, or sailing with his whole squadron, to the Chesapeake, to operate against Arnold. Gen. Washington, being informed by Count de Rochambeau of this design of the French admiral, deemed it important to the success of the enterprise, and to ensure the capture of Arnold, that there should be a co-operation of land and naval forces, and that M. Destouches should protect the expedition with his whole fleet. He therefore informed Gen. Rochambeau that he should send a detachment of twelve hundred men, all that he could spare, from his army, to the Chesapeake, and requested the co-operation of the French fleet, and as many French troops as Count Rochambeau thought prudent to send for the purpose.

The American detachment was immediately selected, of the choicest men, most of whom were from those who had composed the Light Infantry corps, and the command given to Lafayette. The instructions from Gen. Washington to Lafayette were dated February 20th, and directed him, after the necessary arrangements, with which he was also entrusted, to proceed with his detachment with all possible despatch to the Head of Elk, where, by concert with the quartermaster-general, vessels were to be ready on his arrival to convey him down the bay to Hampton Roads, or to the point of operation. When arrived at his destination,

he was to act as his own judgement and circumstances should direct. He was to inform Baron Steuben, who commanded in Virginia, of his approach, requesting him to have a sufficient body of militia ready, to act in conjunction with Lafayette's detachment. Should there be a failure of the expected co-operation by the French fleet and troops, or the object of the expedition be fulfilled or unfortunately disappointed, he was to return to Head-quarters with as much expedition as possible.

Lafayette made his preparations and progress with such celerity, that he arrived at the Head of Elk, on the 3d of March, several days sooner than had been anticipated. Previous to receiving Gen. Washington's request for the co-operation of the entire French fleet, Admiral Destouches had detached a sixty-four gun ship and two frigates, under the command of M. de Tilly, to the Chesapeake, which so weakened his force, that he was unwilling to venture out with his whole squadron. M. de Tilly returned to Newport on the 24th of Feb'y, having been absent only fifteen days, captured the British frigate Romulus, of forty-four guns, taken two privateers of fourteen and eighteen guns, burnt four others and made about five hundred prisoners. Thus restored to his naval superiority, the French admiral informed Gen. Washington, that he would co-operate with Lafayette's detachment, with his whole fleet; and Count Rochambeau promised to add 1100 men from his land forces, willing, as he said, to risk every thing to prevent Arnold establishing himself at Portsmouth, in Virginia. Of this intended movement Lafayette was advised by Gen. Washington, under date of March 1, who added, "It is of the greatest importance to the expedition, as well as for the honour of our arms, that you should be on the spot to co-operate." Lafayette immediately embarked his troops on board transports, protected by small armed vessels, and directed the whole, under the command of Commodore Nicholson, to proceed to Annapolis. He himself, with a small boat, armed with swivels, and with thirty soldiers, proceeded down the bay, to the Head-quarters of Baron Steuben, at Williamsburg; where he could sooner ascertain the arrival of the French squadron, and concert a plan of operations. In a letter to Gen. Washington, dated Williamsburgh, March 23d, he stated:—

"On my arrival at this place, I was surprised to hear that no

French fleet had appeared, but attributed it to delays and chances so frequent in naval matters. My first object was to request that nothing be taken for this expedition which could have been intended for, or useful to, the southern army, whose welfare appeared to me more interesting than our success. My second object has been to examine what had been prepared, to gather and forward every requisite for a vigorous co-operation, besides a number of militia, amounting to five thousand ; I can assure your excellency that nothing has been wanting to ensure a complete success.

" As the position of the enemy had not yet been reconnoitred, I went to General Muhlenberg's camp, near Suffolk, and after he had taken a position nearer to Portsmouth, we marched down with some troops to view the enemy's works. This brought on a trifling skirmish, during which we were able to see something ; but the insufficiency of ammunition, which had been for many days expected, prevented my engaging far enough to push the enemy's outposts, and our reconnoitring was postponed to the 21st,—when, on the 20th, Major Mac Pherson, an officer for whom I have the highest confidence and esteem, sent me word from Hampton, where he was stationed, that a fleet had come to anchor within the Capes. So far it was probable that this fleet was that of M. Destouches, that Arnold himself appeared to be in great confusion, and his vessels, notwithstanding many signals, durst not for a long time, venture down."

It was soon ascertained, however, that the fleet, instead of being that of M. Destouches, belonged to the enemy. The French squadron, which left Newport on the 8th, had been followed on the 10th by the whole British fleet from Gardner's Bay. Gen. Washington, being then at Newport, wrote to Lafayette on the 11th, advising him of these movements, but the letter did not reach him in season to place him on his guard. The two fleets arrived off the Capes of Virginia about the same time, and an action took place on the 16th. They were nearly equal, each having eight ships of the line, but the English had the advantage of one three-decker. The damage sustained by each was about the same, and neither seemed in a condition next day to renew the battle. Thus the object of the expedition against Arnold being defeated, the French squadron returned to Newport, and the British entered and took possession of the Chesapeake Bay.

The position of Lafayette's detachment at Annapolis was rendered critical. On ascertaining the arrival of the British fleet in the bay, he immediately sent orders to Annapolis, to have every thing in readiness to return, and even to move the troops by land to the Head of Elk. He set out

himself for Annapolis; but deeply interested in all that was connected with Gen. Washington, he permitted that feeling to divert him from a direct progress. "I could not resist (he says to Gen. Washington,) the ardent desire I had of seeing your relations, and above all, your mother, at Frederickburgh. For that purpose I went some miles out of my way; and, in order to conciliate my private happiness to duties of a publick nature, I recovered by riding in the night those few hours which I had consecrated to my satisfaction. I had also the pleasure of seeing Mount Vernon, and was very unhappy that my duty and my anxiety for the execution of your orders prevented my paying a visit to Mr. Custis."

On arriving at Annapolis, Lafayette found that little progress had been made in preparations for departure. There were great difficulties in procuring horses and wagons, and boats to cross the ferries. The harbour, in the mean time, was blockaded by two of the enemy's vessels, one of twenty and the other of eighteen guns, with the object of opposing the movements of Lafayette's detachment. He, therefore, continued his preparations for the journey by land, which he was assured would take ten days. In the mean time, he adopted an ingenious device to deceive the enemy, and clear the way for a safe passage by water. He caused two eighteen pounders to be mounted on board of a small sloop; and, on the morning of the 6th, Commodore Nicholson went out with the sloop and another vessel, full of men, firing the guns, and making a parade as though they were about to board the British vessels. Deceived by this manœuvre, as to the force of their opponents, the British vessels immediately retreated to a desired distance. Taking advantage of this absence, every vessel with troops and stores, was despatched in the night, under the escort of the commodore, and Lafayette bringing up the rear with a sloop and other vessels, all arrived safe at the Head of Elk, on the morning of the 8th of April.

Although the expedition had failed of its original object, yet that part of it which had been entrusted to Lafayette, had been executed, so far as depended upon him, with great skill and fidelity. He had met with no disaster, except the loss of a part of his own baggage; and this loss occurred in consequence of consigning it, when leaving Virginia for

Annapolis, to a rickety boat, that a safer barge might be exclusively occupied by a party of soldiers. The soldiers arrived safe, but the baggage was never heard of. But, aware of the danger, Lafayette had taken the precaution to carry with him by land, his papers and whatever might be valuable on the publick account. With his chosen detachment, and all that had been entrusted to him, he had arrived in a safe position ; from whence, as by a Providential course of circumstances, he was soon to be detached for more important and decisive operations.

The same day of his arrival at Elk, and while preparing to move forward for Head-quarters, Lafayette received a letter from Gen. Washington, dated the 6th, instructing him to repair to the south with his detachment, to re-enforce Gen. Greene as speedily as possible. About the time the French and English fleets sailed for the Chesapeake, Sir Henry Clinton had sent a detachment of two thousand men, under Gen. Phillips, to Virginia. It was Gen. Washington's impression, that this detachment was designed ultimately to unite with Cornwallis, between whom and Gen. Greene a battle had recently been fought, in North Carolina. Washington supposed that his letter would find Lafayette still at Annapolis. The troops he had with him being taken from the northern regiments, were averse to going south. They were in want of shoes and clothing, and almost every thing necessary for a campaign. Under these circumstances Lafayette first thought of waiting at Elk for further orders, and so wrote to Gen. Washington. But, on reflection, supposing his presence at the south might be important, he concluded to go forward, and managed with such celerity that, by the 13th of April, the troops had reached the ferry at the Susquehannah, on their march to Baltimore. But the difficulties he experienced, from the discontent and sufferings of the troops, were great and embarrassing. Scarcely any other general, beloved as Lafayette was by the soldiers, could have surmounted these difficulties. He wrote to Gen. Washington, while at the ferry, April 14 :—“ Many articles, and indeed every one which compose the apparatus of a soldier, will be wanting for this detachment. But shoes, linen, overalls, hunting shirts, will be the necessary supplies for which I request your excellency's most pressing orders to people concerned, and most warm entreaties to the board

of war." He was obliged to add: "While I was writing this, accounts have been brought to me, that a great desertion had taken place last night; nine of the Rhode Island company, and the best men they had, who have made many campaigns, and never were suspected. These men say they like better a hundred lashes, than a journey to the southward. As long as they had an expedition in view, they were very well satisfied, but the idea of remaining in the Southern States, appears to them intolerable, and they are amazingly averse to the people and the climate. I shall do my best, but if this disposition lasts, I am afraid we will be reduced lower than I dare express."

Such was the disposition to desert, that before leaving the ferry, it was the general opinion of the officers, that there would not be six hundred men left by the time they arrived at the place of destination; and to add to the gloominess of the prospect, the board of war had expressed its total inability to afford relief. The conduct of Lafayette in this crisis was prompt, judicious, and noble. By way of example, one deserter who had been taken, was hanged, and another, being an excellent soldier, was pardoned, but dismissed from the corps. Lafayette issued an order to the troops, in which he expressed sympathy for their personal sufferings, and impressed upon them the criminality and infamy of desertion. He stated to them that the duty had been assigned to the detachment of fighting an enemy far superior in numbers, under difficulties which tried its patriotism and virtue. That for his part, their general was determined to obey orders and encounter the enemy; but if any of the soldiers had an inclination to abandon him, they might save themselves the danger and crime of desertion, as every one who would apply to Head-quarters for a pass, to join their corps, in the north, might be sure to obtain it immediately. The honour of the soldiers being thus appealed to, desertion from that time entirely ceased.

To these measures, Lafayette added another, which, he said to Gen. Washington, "my feelings for the sufferings of the soldiers, and the peculiarity of their circumstances, have prompted me to adopt." He borrowed, on his own credit, from the merchants of Baltimore, the sum of two thousand guineas, with which he procured linen, shirts, shoes, and other necessary articles for the soldiers. The

shirts were made up by the ladies of Baltimore, a great number of whom Lafayette met at a ball, given in honour of his arrival in that city. The young men of Baltimore also formed a company of volunteer dragoons, and joined Lafayette's detachment.

Such were the effects of these measures of Lafayette, upon the feelings of the soldiers, that not one of them would leave him, and all were inspired with ardour for the service. So strong was this feeling, that a subordinate officer, who was prevented by lameness from accompanying the detachment on foot, actually hired a vehicle at his own expense, to convey him, rather than separate from it.

At Baltimore, Lafayette learned that Phillips, with his corps of two thousand men, had joined Arnold at Portsmouth, and was preparing for offensive operations. For the purpose of moving with greater celerity, he left his tents, artillery, &c., under a guard, with orders to follow as fast as possible, and hastened on with the rest of the detachment, by forced marches, and pressed horses and wagons for Fredericksburg or Richmond, to act as circumstances might require in frustrating the designs of the enemy.

Lafayette kept Gen. Washington advised by letter, of his own progress, and what he learned of the movements of the enemy. From Alexandria, April 23d, he informed the general of a circumstance which is mentioned in all the Biographies of Washington, and which gave rise to the celebrated letter to Lund Washington. "When the enemy came to your house (he says,) many negroes deserted to them. This piece of news did not affect me much, as I little value these matters. But you cannot conceive how unhappy I have been to hear that Mr. Lund Washington went on board the enemy's vessels, and consented to give them provisions. This being done by the gentleman who, in some measure, represents you at your house, will certainly have a bad effect, and contrasts with spirited answers from some neighbours that have had their houses burnt accordingly. You will do what you think proper about it, my dear general, but, as your friend, it was my duty confidentially to mention the circumstances."

In reply, Gen. Washington said: "The freedom of your communication is an evidence to me of the sincerity of your attachment, and every fresh instance of this gives

pleasure and adds strength to the bond which unites us in friendship. In this light I view the intimation respecting the conduct of Mr. Lund Washington." He had previously been informed of it, however, and written the letter to which we have referred.

Lafayette had been reluctant to go south, under a hope that his favourite expedition, an attack upon the enemy at New York, would be undertaken in the spring. In letters of the 13th and 14th of April, Gen. Washington informed him that there was little prospect of such an undertaking. "If (he said) the most distant prospect of such an operation as you speak of had been in my mind, I should have looked upon your detachment as essential to the undertaking; but I can assure you, without entering into a detail of reasons, which I cannot commit to paper, that I have not at present an idea of being able to effect such a matter." In subsequent letters, (April 21st and 22d) he expressed the desire he had of having Lafayette near him. "There would occur frequent occasions (he said) in co-operative measures, in which it would be of the greatest utility I should have the power to consult you." But, as he could not recall the detachment, he left it to the option of Lafayette, to proceed with his corps, or return personally to Head-quarters. Lafayette, however, was too deeply and too beneficially engaged in the object of his expedition, before receiving these letters, to retrace his steps; and was gratified with receiving, during his progress, the strong assurances of the approbation of the commander-in-chief. In a letter dated May 5, Gen. Washington congratulated Lafayette upon his success in allaying the spirit of discontent among his troops, and added: "The measures you had taken to obtain, on your own credit, a supply of clothing and necessaries for the detachment, must entitle you to all their gratitude and affection; and will, at the same time that it endears your name, if possible, still more to this country, be an everlasting monument of your ardent zeal and attachment to its cause, and the establishment of its independence. For my own part, my dear marquis, although I stood in need of no new proofs of your exertions and sacrifices in the cause of America, I will confess to you, that I shall not be able to express the pleasing sensations I have experienced at the unparalleled and repeated instances of your generosity and

zeal for the service on every occasion. Suffer me only to pursue you with my sincerest wishes, that your success and glory may always be equal to your merits."

Phillips and Arnold were ascending James River, committing depredations by the way, and approaching Richmond, where there was a quantity of tobacco and publick stores. Suspecting their object, Lafayette hastened his march, and reached Richmond before them. His force consisted of nine hundred men, rank and file, while that of the enemy was about twenty-five hundred. He was joined at Richmond by a corps of militia, under Gen. Nelson, and by Baron Steuben, with a small corps of regular troops. When Gen. Phillips arrived on the morning of the 30th, and had given orders for an attack, he was astonished to discover, on reconnoitring, the corps of Lafayette and their position ; he flew into a violent passion, and swore vengeance against them. The enemy burnt the warehouses at Manchester, on the opposite side of the river ; landed about six hundred men on the Richmond side, but being charged by a party of dragoons under Gen. Nelson, made a precipitate retreat. After these demonstrations, the enemy returned down the river, having been defeated in their object upon Richmond, by the rapid march of Lafayette from Baltimore. Lafayette continued to watch the motions of the enemy, and to counteract their designs, with great skill and prudence, as far as the inferiority of his force would permit. He had been directed by Gen. Green, who then commanded the southern department, to take command of the troops in Virginia ; to conduct the campaign, and to transmit the accounts of his operations directly to Congress and to Gen. Washington. He therefore wrote to Gen. Washington from Welton, north side of James River, May 18, giving a statement of events up to that date :

" When General Phillips retreated from Richmond, his project was to stop at Williamsburg, there to collect contributions which he had imposed ; this induced me to take a position between Pamunkey, and Chikahominy rivers, which equally covered Richmond, and some other interesting parts of the state, and from where I detached General Nelson with some militia towards Williamsburg.

" Having got as low down as that place, General Phillips seemed to discover an intention to make a landing, but upon advices received by a vessel from Portsmouth, the enemy weighed anchor, and with

all the sail they could crowd, hastened up the river. This intelligence made me apprehensive that the enemy intended to manœuvre me out of Richmond where I returned immediately, and again collected our small force. Intelligence was the same day received that Lord Cornwallis (who I had been assured to have embarked at Wilmington) was marching through North Carolina, (this was confirmed by the landing of General Phillips at Brandon, south side of James River.) Apprehending that both armies would move to meet at a central point, I marched towards Petersburg and intended to have established a communication over Appamatox and James rivers; but on the 9th, General Phillips took possession of Petersburg, a place where his right flank being covered by James River, his front by Appamatox, on which the bridges had been destroyed in the first part of the invasion, and his left not being attackable but by a long circuit through fords, that at this season are very uncertain, I could not (even with an equal force) have got any chance of fighting him, unless I had given up this side of James River, and the country from which reinforcements are expected. It being at the enemy's choice to force us to an action, while their own position insured them against our enterprises, I thought it proper to shift this situation, and marched the greater part of our troops to this place, about ten miles below Richmond. Letters from General Nash, General Sumner, and General Jones are positive as to the arrival of Colonel Tarleton, and announce that of Lord Cornwallis at Halifax. Having received a request from North Carolina for ammunition, I made a detachment of 500 men under General Muhlenburg to escort 20,000 cartridges over Appamatox, and to divert the enemy's attention, Colonel Gimat, with his battalion, and four field pieces, commanded their position from this side of the river. I hope our ammunition will arrive safe, as before General Muhlenberg returned he put it in a safe road, with proper directions. On the 13th, General Phillips died, and the command devolved on General Arnold. General Wayne's detachment has not yet been heard of. Before he arrives, it becomes very dangerous to risk an engagement where (as the British armies being vastly superior to us) we shall certainly be beaten, and by the loss of arms, the dispersion of militia, and the difficulty of a junction with General Wayne, we may lose a less dangerous chance of resistance."

In consequence of the death of Gen. Phillips, the command of the British forces devolved upon the traitor Arnold. A flag was sent, with a letter from Arnold, in continuation of a correspondence relative to an exchange of prisoners commenced previously to the death of Phillips. Lafayette positively refused having any correspondence with Arnold, at the same time assuring the officer who brought the letter, that "in case any other English officer should honour him with a letter, he would always be happy to give the officers every testimony of esteem." In reference to this highly honourable circumstance, Gen. Washington wrote to La-

fayette, (May 31): "Your conduct upon every occasion meets my approbation, but in none more than in your refusing to hold a correspondence with Arnold." In the same letter, he says: "Your determination to avoid an engagement, with your present force, is certainly judicious. I hope the Pennsylvanians have begun their march before this time, but I have no information of it." Alluding to a detachment from the Pennsylvania line, under Gen. Wayne, which had been ordered to join Lafayette, but had been delayed from the great difficulty in procuring supplies.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

Cornwallis arrives in Virginia—His force—That of Lafayette—Lafayette at Richmond—Secures the valuable property—Letter to Gen. Washington—Cornwallis advances upon Richmond—Lafayette compelled to retreat—His rapid and skillful movements—Letters to Greene and Washington—Baffles Tarleton—Junction with Wayne's detachment—Outgenerals Cornwallis—Gains a strong position between the enemy and the magazines at Albemarle—Cornwallis retreats—Lafayette becomes the assailant—His account of an action—Cornwallis continues his retreat—Action at Jamestown—The enemy retreat to Portsmouth—Indications of their intention to embark—Lafayette is anxious to join the northern army—Correspondence on the subject with Gen. Washington—Hints of important operations—A French squadron expected—Junction of the French and American armies—Washington announces important matters to Lafayette—Enjoins him to a vigilant watch of the enemy—Mode of compliance—The enemy embark—Pass up the bay—Commence fortifications—Lafayette becomes satisfied to remain in Virginia—Informed of the destination of the French squadron—Correspondence with Washington—Enjoined to prevent the enemy's retreat—Continued vigilance—System of Espionage—Morgan, the pretended deserter.

PURSUANT to the plan of Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis advanced with his whole forces from North Carolina, and formed a junction with Arnold at Petersburg, on the 20th of May. The active corps of Cornwallis was more than four thousand men, of which five hundred were mounted upon fleet horses, stolen from the Virginians and supplied to the enemy by runaway negroes. This was the famous flying troop of Tarleton, which became the scourge

and terroir of Virginia. That under Lafayette is represented by him to have been at the time, nine hundred continentals and forty horse, and a small body (about 1500) of militia, brave, but ill-armed. Among these, however, was a corps of light horse, composed of some of the most respectable young men of Virginia and Maryland, who had joined Lafayette as volunteers, and from their intelligence, valour, and the superiority of their horses, they were of essential service to him. Lafayette's first movement was to Richmond, where precaution was taken to remove every species of valuable property, publick or private.

In writing to General Washington from Richmond, May 24, Lafayette expressed an ardent wish that his conduct might meet Washington's approbation. Had he followed the first impulse of his own temper, he should have risked something more. Had the Pennsylvania detachment arrived before Cornwallis, he had determined to attack the enemy; but their unaccountable delay was to him a source of great disappointment, and compelled him, contrary to his nature, to act upon the defensive. "Were I any ways equal to the enemy (he said), I should be extremely happy; but I am not strong enough even to get beaten. Government in this state has no energy, and laws have no force. But I hope this assembly will put matters on a better footing. I had a great deal of trouble to put matters in a tolerable train; our expenses were enormous, and yet we can get nothing. Arrangements for the present seem to put on a better face, but for this superiority of the enemy, which will chase us wherever they please. They can overrun the country, and, until the Pennsylvanians arrive, we are next to nothing in point of opposition to so large a force. This country begins to be as familiar to me as Tappan and Bergen. Our soldiers are hitherto very healthy: I have turned doctor, and regulate their diet."

Lord Cornwallis soon advanced upon Richmond, and Lafayette was compelled to retreat. It was the determined object of Cornwallis to capture Lafayette, and thus to complete the conquest of Virginia. In the mean time he endeavoured to possess himself of the publick stores, and to destroy every means and position of defence. To preserve his corps, to form a junction with the expected reinforcements under Wayne, and to prevent the depredations of

the enemy, were equally the determinations of Lafayette. Thence began that brilliant series of movements which, on his part, are unsurpassed in celerity and skill by any in the annals of defensive warfare. It was during this retreat of Lafayette, that Cornwallis, having full confidence in his own skill and superiority of force, exultingly wrote in a letter which was intercepted, "*The boy cannot escape me.*" From the letters of Lafayette and other sources, we will endeavour to trace his progress, first in retreating from, and next in pursuing, the enemy. To Gen. Greene, (camp between Rappahannock and North Anna, June 3) he wrote :

" Lord Cornwallis had at first a project to cross above Richmond, but desisted from it and landed at Westover; he then proposed to turn our left flank, but before it was executed we moved by the left to the forks of Chickahominy,—the enemy advanced twelve miles and we retreated in the same proportion ! they crossed Chickahomony and advanced on the road to Fredericksburg. We marched in a parallel with them, keeping the upper part of the country. Our position at Mattapony church would have much exposed the enemy's flank on their way to Fredericksburg, but they stopped at Cook's ford on the North Anna River, where they are for the present. General Wayne having announced to me his departure on the 23d, I expected before this time to have made a junction. We have moved back some distance and are cautious not to indulge Lord Cornwallis with an action with our present force.

" The intention of the enemy are not as yet well explained. Fredericksburg appeared to be their object, the more so as a greater number of troops are said to be gone down than is necessary for the garrison of Portsmouth. The publick stores have been as well as possible removed, and every part of Hunter's works that could be, taken out of the way. It is possible they mean to make a stroke towards Charlottesville ; this I would not be uneasy for, had my repeated directions been executed. But instead of removing stores from there to Albemarle old Court House, where Baron de Steuben has collected six hundred regulars, and where I ordered the militia south of James River to rendezvous, it appears from a letter I received this evening that state stores have been, contrary to my directions, collected there, least they should mix with the continentals ; but my former letters were so positive, and my late precautions are so multiplied, that I hope the precious part of the stores will have been removed to a safer place. I had also some stores removed from Orange Court-House. Despatches from the Governour to me have fallen into the enemy's hands ; of which I gave him and the baron immediate notice."

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" The enemy must have five hundred men mounted and their cavalry increases daily. It is impossible in this country to take horses out of their way, and the neglect of the inhabitants, dispersion of houses, and robberies of negroes, (should even the most vigorous

measures have been taken by the civil authority) would have yet put many horses into their hands. Under this cloud of light troops it is difficult to reconnoitre, as well as counteract any rapid movements they choose to make."

The same day, Lafayette wrote to Gen. Washington, enclosing a copy of the letter to Greene. He said: "I heartily wish, my dear general, my conduct may be approved of, particularly by you. My circumstances have been peculiar, and in this state I have sometimes experienced strange disappointments. Two of them, the stores at Charlottesville, and the delay of the Pennsylvania detachment, have given me much uneasiness, and may be attended with bad consequences." He expressed a wish to see General Washington in Virginia, with a large detachment of American troops and a portion of the French army; believing that he would thus call forth the energies of the state of Virginia, and ensure success. But, while thus acknowledging his embarrassments, and his desire for re-enforcements, Lafayette neither expressed despair, nor relaxed in his exertions.

Baffling the pursuit of the enemy, Lafayette retired to a position beyond the Rapid Ann, to secure and await the junction with Wayne. Lord Cornwallis, disappointed in bringing Lafayette to an action, detached Tarleton's legion, to surprise the Assembly of Virginia at Charlottesville; but Lafayette gave timely notice of Tarleton's approach, and he succeeded only in capturing a few arms and a small quantity of powder. Another detachment under Col. Simcoe, said to be four hundred dragoons and mounted infantry, proceeded to the forks of James River, where Baron Steuben, with a corps of the new Virginia levies, was guarding some military stores. The baron, securing most of the stores, retreated safely to the south with his detachment. Cornwallis, in the mean time, proceeded with his main army in the direction of Albemarle Court-House, with the intention of capturing the principal magazines for the supply of the southern armies, which were at that place. Lafayette perceived the danger, but had not sufficient force to prevent it. Fortunately, Wayne's detachment arrived in season; and immediately on forming a junction, he proceeded by forced marches towards James River, and on arriving at the South Anna, found Cornwallis encamped some miles below the

point of Fork, within one day's march of the magazines. The only road known to the enemy, by which Lafayette could gain a position between them and their object, was so covered by them, that in passing it, he would have presented his flank, and exposed himself to almost inevitable defeat. He, however, discovered a shorter road, little known, by which he repaired cautiously in the night (June 15, 1781); and Cornwallis was astonished next morning, to see Lafayette established in a strong position, between him and the magazines, which were so important to the whole American army in the south. Here he was joined by about six hundred riflemen and militia.

Thus defeated in his object, and finding Lafayette strengthened by the junction of Wayne's corps and the militia, Lord Cornwallis commenced a retrograde movement, and arrived at Richmond on the 18th of June, closely followed by Lafayette. From this time Lafayette became the assailant—how successfully, will appear from the following account, in a letter to General Greene, dated twenty miles from Williamsburg, 27th June :

“On the 18th the British army moved towards us with design, as I apprehended, to strike at a detached corps commanded by Gen. Muhlenberg; upon this the light infantry and Pennsylvanians marched under Gen. Wayne, when the enemy retired into town. The day following I was joined by Gen. Steuben's troops, and on the night of the 20th Richmond was evacuated. Having followed the enemy, our light parties fell in with them near New Kent Court-House. The army was still at a distance, and Lord Cornwallis continued his route towards Williamsburg; his rear and right flank were covered by a large corps commanded by Col. Simcoe. I pushed forward a detachment under Col. Butler, but notwithstanding a fatiguing march the colonel reports that he could not have overtaken them, had not Major McPherson mounted fifty light infantry behind an equal number of dragoons, which coming up with the enemy charged them within six miles of Williamsburg; such of the advance corps as could arrive to their support, composed of riflemen under Major Call and Major Willis, began a smart action. Enclosed is the return of our loss. That of the enemy is about 60 killed and 100 wounded, including several officers, a disproportion which the skill of our riflemen easily explains. I am under great obligations to Col. Butler and the officers and men of the detachment for their ardour in the pursuit and their conduct in the action. Gen. Wayne, who had marched to the support of Butler, sent down some troops under Major Hamilton. The whole British army came out to save Simcoe, and on the arrival of our army upon this ground returned to Williamsburg. The post they occupy at present is strong and under protection of their shipping, but upwards of one hundred miles from the point of Fork.”

To Mr. Jefferson, then goverour of Virginia, and to Gen. Washington, Lafayette also gave accounts of this action. He stated his own loss at two captains, two lieutenants, ten privates, wounded ; two lieutenants, one sergeant, six privates, killed ; one sergeant, taken ; and one lieutenant and twelve privates whose fate was unknown. Cornwallis was greatly mortified at the result of the action. His force was about four thousand six hundred men, eight hundred of whom were dragoons, or mounted infantry. Lafayette had about the same number, but only one thousand five hundred regulars, and fifty dragoons. Writing to General Washington, Lafayette said : "The enemy have been so kind as to retire before us. Twice I gave them a chance of fighting, (taking care not to engage farther than I pleased,) but they continued their retrograde motions. Our numbers are, I think, exaggerated to them, and our seeming boldness confirms the opinion. \* \* \*

\* \* \* Our little action more particularly marks the retreat of the enemy. From the place whence he first began to retire is upward of one hundred miles. The old arms at the Point of Fork have been taken out of the water. The cannon was thrown into the river, undamaged, when they marched back to Richmond ; so that his lordship did us no harm of any consequence, but lost an immense part of his former conquests, and did not make any in this state. Gen. Greene only demanded of me to hold my ground in Virginia. But the movements of Lord Cornwallis may answer better purposes than that, in the political line."

By this time, some of the most chivalrous spirits of Virginia had united themselves to Lafayette's corps, considerably augmenting his moral and physical force, though not so materially his numbers. The British continued their retreat, followed vigilantly by Lafayette ; and while the enemy were crossing the river at Jamestown, a warm action took place, which came very near being a general one. It is thus related, in a letter from Lafayette to Gen. Greene, dated at Ambler's Plantation, opposite Jamestown, July 8 :

" The 6th, I detached an advanced corps under Gen. Wayne, with a view of reconnoitring the enemy's situation. Their light parties being drawn in, the pickets which lay close to their encampment were gallantly attacked by some riflemen, whose skill was employed to great effect.

" Having ascertained that Lord Cornwallis had sent off his baggage under a proper escort, and posted his army in an open field fortified

by the shipping, I returned to the detachment, which I found more generally engaged. A piece of cannon had been attempted by the vanguard under Major Galvan, whose conduct deserves high applause. Upon this the whole British army came out and advanced to the thin wood occupied by General Wayne. His corps, chiefly composed of Pennsylvanians and some light infantry, did not exceed eight hundred men, with three field pieces. But, notwithstanding their numbers, at sight of the British the troops ran to the rencontre. A short skirmish ensued with a close, warm, and well-directed firing, but as the enemy's right and left of course greatly outflanked ours, I sent General Wayne orders to retire half a mile, to where Col. Vose's and Col. Barber's light infantry battalions had arrived by a rapid move, and where I directed them to form. In this position they remained till some hours in the night. The militia under Gen. Lawson had been advanced, and the continentals were at Norrel's mill, when the enemy retreated during the night to James Island, which they also evacuated, crossing over to the south side of the river. Their ground at this place and the island were successively occupied by General Muhlenberg. Many valuable horses were left on their retreat.

"From every account, the enemy's loss has been very great, and much pains taken to conceal it. Their light infantry, the brigade of guards and two British regiments, formed the first line, the remainder of the army the second; the cavalry were drawn up but did not charge.

"By the enclosed return you will see what part of Gen. Wayne's detachment suffered most. The services rendered by the officers make me happy to think that although many were wounded we lost none. Most of the field officers had their horses killed, and the same accident to every horse of two field pieces made it impossible to move them, unless men had been sacrificed. But it is enough for the glory of Gen. Wayne and the officers and men he commanded, to have attacked the whole British army with a reconnoitring party only, close to their encampment, and by this severe skirmish hastened their retreat over the river.

"Col. Bowyer of the riflemen is a prisoner."

Gen. Wayne, in describing the action, said: "Our field officers were generally dismounted by having their horses either killed or wounded under them. Colonel Mercer, and another young Virginia gentleman, were not more fortunate. I will not censure with the marquis (Lafayette) for the loss of two of his, as he was frequently requested to keep at a greater distance. His native bravery rendered him deaf to the admonition."

To Gen. Washington, enclosing an account of this engagement, Lafayette wrote: "Agreeably to your orders I have avoided a general action, and when Lord Cornwallis' movements indicated that it was against his interest to fight, I ventured partial engagements. His lordship seems to have given up the conquest of Virginia. It has been a

great secret that our army was not superior, and was most generally inferior, to the enemy's numbers. Our returns were swelled up, as militia returns generally are ; but we had very few under arms, particularly lately, and to conceal the lessening of our numbers, I was obliged to push on as one who heartily wished a general engagement. Our regulars did not exceed one thousand five hundred ; the enemy had four thousand regulars, four hundred of whom were mounted. They thought we had eight thousand men. I never encamped in line, and there was greater difficulty to come at our numbers."

From Jamestown the English retreated to Portsmouth, near the mouth of James River, with the waters of the Chesapeake open before them. The American army encamped on Malvern Hill, a favourable position in the vicinity. From several days of quiet, and indications that the enemy intended to embark with their whole army, Lafayette considered that the active portion of the Virginia campaign was at an end. Believing, therefore, that his favourite project, an attack upon New York by the combined French and American forces, would still be attempted, he was anxious to return to the northern army ; and wrote to General Washington, on the 20th of July, as follows :

" When I went to the southward, you know I had some private objections ; but I became sensible of the necessity there was for the detachment to go, and I knew that had I returned there was nobody that could lead them on against their inclination. My entering this state was happily marked by a service to the capital. Virginia became the grand object of the enemy, as it was the point to which the ministry tended. I had the honour to command an army and oppose Lord Cornwallis. When incomparably inferior to him, fortune was pleased to preserve us ; when equal in numbers, though not in quality of troops, we have also been pretty lucky. Cornwallis had the disgrace of a retreat, and this state being recovered, government is properly re-established. The enemy are under the protection of their works at Portsmouth. It appears an embarkation is taking place, probably destined to New York. The war in this state would then become a plundering one, and great manoeuvres be out of the question. A prudent officer would do our business here, and the baron is prudent to the utmost. Would it be possible, my dear general, in case a part of the British troops go to New York, I may be allowed to join the combined armies ?"

In another letter, same date, he says :

" I am entirely a stranger to every thing that passes out of Virginia, and Virginian operations being for the present in a state of languor,

I have more time to think of my solitude ; in a word, my dear general, I am home-sick, and if I cannot go to Head-quarters, wish at least to hear from thence. I am anxious to know your opinion concerning the Virginian campaign. That the subjugation of this state was the great object of the ministry is an indisputable fact. I think your diversion has been of more use to the state than my manœuvres ; but the latter have been much directed by political views. So long as my lord wished for an action, not one gun has been fired ; the moment he declined it, we have been skirmishing ; but I took care never to commit the army. His naval superiority, his superiority of horse, of regulars, his thousand advantages over us, so that I am lucky to have come off safe. I had an eye upon European negotiations, and made it a point to give his lordship the disgrace of a retreat.

“ From every account it appears that a part of the army will embark. The light infantry, the guards, the 80th regiment, and Queen’s rangers, are, it is said, destined to New York. Lord Cornwallis, I am told, is much disappointed in his hopes of command. I cannot find out what he does with himself. Should he go to England, we are, I think, to rejoice for it ; he is a cold and active man, two dangerous qualities in this southern war.

“ The clothing you have long ago sent to the light infantry is not yet arrived. I have been obliged to send for it, and expect it in a few days. These three battalions are the best troops that ever took the field ; my confidence in them is unbounded ; they are far superior to any British troops, and none will ever venture to meet them in equal numbers. What a pity these men are not employed along with the French grenadiers ; they would do eternal honour to our arms. But their presence here, I must confess, has saved this state, and, indeed, the southern part of the continent.”

In reply to this letter, (under date of July 30,) General Washington said : “ You ask my opinion of the Virginia campaign. Be assured, my dear marquis, your conduct meets my warmest approbation, as it must that of every body. Should it ever be said, that my attachment to you betrayed me into partiality, you have only to appeal to facts to refute any such charge. But I trust there will be no occasion.” In a private letter of the same date, Gen. Washington wrote : “ I am convinced that your desire to be with this army, arises principally from a wish to be actively useful. You will not, therefore, regret your stay in Virginia until matters are reduced to a greater degree of certainty, than they are at present ; especially when I tell you, that, from the change of circumstances with which the removal of part of the enemy’s force from Virginia to New York will be attended, it is more than probable we shall also entirely change our plan of operations.”

Washington dared not to be more explicit, for fear his

letter might be intercepted. But he was beginning to turn his attention to the south, and the great result of Lafayette's successful operations in Virginia, was soon to be consummated. The Count de Barras arrived from France on the 6th of May, to take command of the French squadron at Newport. With him came the son of Count Rochambeau, who had preceded Mr. Laurens to France, with despatches to the French government on American affairs. By him, Count de Rochambeau had been advised of the intentions of his government, with respect to operations in America. The French government had agreed to supply the Americans with six millions of livres, and a part of the money had been forwarded. They were also negotiating for a loan of ten millions from Holland. Six hundred recruits were to be sent to re-enforce Count de Rochambeau, with money for the army and navy. The Count de Grasse was about to sail, with a large naval armament, for the West Indies. He was authorized to take on board a detachment of troops at the Islands, and sail for the American coast, to employ the summer months in co-operating with the squadron under Count de Barras, and the French and American armies. In announcing this intention, Count de Grasse stated that his stay must necessarily be short, and urged speedy preparations to co-operate with him. Upon the receipt of this important intelligence, Count de Rochambeau immediately requested a conference with Gen. Washington, to arrange the plan of operations. That conference took place at Weathersfield, Conn., on the 22d of May. Count de Rochambeau inclined to an expedition to Virginia, where his young countryman was so arduously and gallantly employed. For reasons, however, assigned by Gen. Washington, a combined attack upon New York was agreed upon. But, it appears, the count wrote to M. de Grasse in answer, expressing it as his private opinion, that an enterprise, in the Chesapeake Bay, against Cornwallis, would be the most practicable and the least suspected by the enemy, leaving it to his discretion, (in which General Washington concurred) whether to make the northern coast, or go directly to the Chesapeake. It was agreed, also, that the French army should leave Newport, and unite with the American army on the banks of the Hudson. The junction was effected on the 6th of July.

The junction of the two armies was announced to Lafayette, in a letter from Washington, dated July 13th, in which he congratulated him on the favourable turn of affairs in Virginia, and expressed a hope that he would be able to maintain his superiority ; adding, “ I shall shortly have occasion to communicate matters of very great importance to you, so much so that I shall send a confidential officer on purpose. You will in the mean time endeavour to draw together as respectable a body of continental troops as you possibly can, and take every measure to augment your cavalry. Should the enemy confine themselves to the lower country, you will no doubt pay attention to the formation of magazines above.” He enjoined Lafayette to keep open the line of communication with Philadelphia, and with the coast, and to inform him promptly of the movements of the enemy.

These injunctions were superfluous ; for Lafayette was ever active and vigilant. He watched the enemy narrowly, and sent advices of every movement to General Washington. He called out the militia to guard the passes, and took every precaution to prevent the retreat of the enemy to North Carolina. Such was his vigilance that he had his spies, even in the camp and household of Cornwallis. The following anecdote, illustrative of what we have here said, is related by Mr. Sparks :

“ When Cornwallis had retired before Lafayette, and was near Williamsburg, as the former had a superior force, Lafayette did not choose to bring him to a general action ; but he wished at the same time to impress upon him an idea of the largeness of his numbers, in order that Cornwallis might not be induced to turn upon him, and thus compel him again to retreat. He had taken into his service a very shrewd negro man, whom he had instructed to go into the enemy’s camp and pretend to give himself up to them. This task the man performed with so much cunning, that he was actually employed by Lord Cornwallis as a spy, at the time he was acting in the same capacity for the other side. But he was true to his first employer. Lafayette wrote a fictitious order to General Morgan, requiring him to take his station at a certain post in conjunction with the army. The paper was then torn and given to the negro, with directions how to proceed. He returned to Cornwallis, who asked him what news he brought from the American camp. He said there was no news, that he saw no changes, but every thing appeared as it was the day before. Holding the tattered paper in his hand, he was asked what it was, and replied that he had picked it up in the American camp, but, as he could not read, he did not know that it was of any

importance. The general took it, and was surprised to find such an order. He had not heard of Morgan's having joined the army, or of his being expected. It made him cautious, however, for a day or two before he was undeceived, and the object of Lafayette was gained."

July 31, Lafayette wrote to Gen. Washington : " A correspondent of mine, servant of Lord Cornwallis, writes on the 26th of July, at Portsmouth, and says, his master, Tarleton, and Simcoe, are still in town, but expect to move. The greater part of the army is embarked. My lord's baggage is yet in town. His lordship is so shy of his papers, that my honest friend says he cannot get at them. There is a large quantity of negroes, but, it seems, no vessels to take them off. What garrison they leave I do not know. I shall take care at least to keep them within bounds. Should a French fleet now come in Hampton Road, the British army would, I think, be ours."

After embarking his forces on board the vessels, instead of proceeding for New York, as Lafayette had suspected, Cornwallis passed up the Bay, entered York River, and landed at York and Gloucester. The enemy first began their entrenchments upon Gloucester Point, a neck of land opposite York, but proceeded for many days slowly in their operations, as though undecided in their plans.

The hints which Gen. Washington had conveyed to him in the letters of July 13 and 30, and the recent movements of the enemy, rendered Lafayette better satisfied with his position. He wrote, August 11: " Be sure, my dear general, that the pleasure of being with you, will make me happy in any command you may think proper to give me ; but for the present, I am of the opinion, with you, I had better remain in Virginia ; the more so, as Lord Cornwallis does not choose to leave us, and circumstances may happen that will furnish me agreeable opportunities in the command of the Virginia army. I have pretty well understood you, my dear general, but would be happy in a more minute detail, which, I am sensible, cannot be intrusted to letters.

\* \* \* \* \* But to return to operations in Virginia, I will tell you, my dear general, that Lord Cornwallis is entrenching at York and at Gloucester. The sooner we disturb him the better ; but unless our maritime friends give us help, we cannot much venture below."

By the arrival of a French frigate at Boston, from Count

de Grasse, Gen. Washington received intelligence that the count, with a fleet of from twenty-five to twenty-nine vessels of war, and about three thousand troops, would leave St. Domingo on the 13th of August, and proceed directly for the Chesapeake Bay. "Under these circumstances, (he wrote to Lafayette) whether the enemy remain in full force, or whether they have only a detachment left, you will immediately take such a position as will best enable you to prevent their sudden retreat through North Carolina, which I presume they will attempt the instant they perceive so formidable an armament. . . . You will hear further from me as soon as I have concerted plans and formed dispositions for sending a re-enforcement from hence. In the mean time I have only to recommend a continuation of that prudence and good conduct, which you have manifested though the whole of your campaign."

This intelligence was highly gratifying to Lafayette. Under date of August 21st, he informs Gen. Washington that the enemy were very busy at Gloucester Neck, but had not commenced fortifying at York. He states the measures he had adopted, agreeably to General Washington's suggestions, to prevent the escape of the enemy, and facilitate a junction with the expected re-enforcements. And adds: "In the present state of affairs, my dear general, I hope you will come yourself to Virginia, and that, if the French army moves this way, I will have, at least, the satisfaction of beholding you myself at the head of the combined armies. In two days I will write again to your excellency, and keep you particularly and constantly informed, unless something is done at the very moment (and it will probably be difficult). Lord Cornwallis must be attacked with pretty great apparatus. But when a French fleet takes possession of the bay and rivers, and we form a land force superior to his, that army must, sooner or later, be forced to surrender, as we may get what re-enforcements we please. Adieu, my dear general: I heartily thank you for having ordered me to remain in Virginia: it is to your goodness that I am indebted for the most beautiful prospect which I may ever behold."

On the 29th, Lafayette wrote: "The enemy have evacuated their forts at Troy, Kemp's Landing, Great Bridge, and Portsmouth. Their vessels, with troops and

baggage, went round to York. Some cannon have been left spiked up at Portsmouth, but I have not yet received proper returns. I have got some intelligence by the way of this servant I have once mentioned. [See page 177.] A very sensible fellow was with him, and from him, as well as deserters, I hear they begin fortifying at York. They are even working by a windmill, at which place I understand they will make a fort and a battery for the defence of the river. I have no doubt that something will be done on the land side. The works at Gloucester are finished. They consist of some redoubts across Gloucester Creek, and a battery of eighteen pieces bounding the river."

The "very sensible fellow" here alluded to, is the hero of the following narrative, which we find in a note to Lafayette's correspondence, and also in Spark's *Writings of Washington* :

"After the arrival of Lord Cornwallis at York, General Lafayette asked Colonel Barber for a faithful and an intelligent soldier, whom he could send as a spy into the English camp. Morgan, of the New Jersey line, was pointed out to him. The general sent for him, and proposed to him the difficult task of going over to the enemy as a deserter, and enrolling himself in their army. Morgan answered, that he was ready to do every thing for his country and his general, but that to act the part of a spy was repugnant to all his feelings ; he did not fear for his life, but for his name, which might be blotted with an eternal stain. He ended, however, by yielding, but on condition, that in case of any misfortune, the general would make the truth known, and publish all the particulars of the case in the New Jersey papers. M. de Lafayette promised this should be done. Morgan then proceeded to the English camp. His mission was to give advice of the movements of the enemy, and deceive them as to the projects and resources of the Americans. He had not been long with the English, when Cornwallis sent for him, and questioned him, in the presence of Tarleton, upon the means General Lafayette might have of crossing south of James River. Morgan replied, according to his private instructions, that he had a sufficient number of boats, on the first signal, to cross the river with his whole army. "In that case," said Cornwallis to Tarleton, "what I said to you cannot be done;" alluding, in all probability, to an intended march upon North Carolina. After the arrival of the French fleet, M. de Lafayette, on his return from a reconnoitring party, found in his quarters six men dressed in the English uniform, and a Hessian dressed in green : Morgan was amongst them, bringing back five deserters and a prisoner ; he no longer thought his services as a spy could be of any use to his country. The next day, the general offered him, as a recompense, the rank of sergeant. Morgan thanked him, but declined the offer, saying that he thought himself a good soldier, but was not certain of being a good

sergeant. Other offers were also refused. "What can I then do for you?" inquired the general. "I have only one favour to ask," replied Morgan. "During my absence my gun has been taken from me; I value it very much, and I should like to have it back again." Orders were given that the gun should be found and restored to him: this was the only thing he could be prevailed on to receive. Mr. Sparks, who published this anecdote, says "he heard it related, fifty years after it had occurred, by General Lafayette, who still expressed great admiration for that soldier's noble feelings and disinterested conduct."

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## CHAPTER XIX.

Gen. Washington, with the combined armies, resolves to march to Virginia—Injunctions to Lafayette renewed and complied with—Cornwallis held in a position favourable to Lafayette's plans and wishes—The fleet of Count de Grasse arrives in the Chesapeake—Lafayette in command of the combined forces—Blockades Cornwallis, by sea and land—Impatience of Count de Grasse and Gen. St. Simon—Urge Lafayette to attack Cornwallis—He refuses—Sacrifices ambition, and glory, to duty and discretion—A British fleet appears off the Chesapeake—Count de Grasse sails—Meets and disperses them—Gen. Washington and Count Rochambeau arrive at Williamsburg—Interview with the French admiral—De Grasse promises to co-operate—Changes his mind—Resolves to sail for the West Indies—Mission of Lafayette, to dissuade him from it—Its success—The French and American armies arrive—General Washington in command—Siege of Yorktown commenced—Gen. Rochambeau's account of it—Lafayette storms and carries a redoubt—Capitulation and surrender—Lafayette's deportment—Vindicates the Americans—Offers to join General Greene—Resolves to visit France—Takes leave of his brave corps—Complimentary resolves of Congress—Approbatory letters of Counts de Segur and de Vergennes—Farewell letters of Washington—Lafayette bids adieu to Washington and sails for France—His military services in America terminated—Their value—Estimate of the Virginia campaign—Gen. Lee's opinion—Testimony of Mr. Madison.

IN the mean time, the movement so much desired by Lafayette, had been resolved upon. The advices from Count de Grasse, and the re-enforcement of the British army at New York by the arrival of three thousand Hessians, had induced Gen. Washington finally to abandon the plan of attacking New York, and to determine on repairing in person, with the whole of the French army, and as large a portion of the American army as could be spared, to the Chesapeake. He advised Lafayette, from King's Ferry,

21st August, that the troops destined for the southern quarter, were then in motion ; that the American detachments were already on the west side of the Hudson ; that he expected the French army to reach the ferry that day ; and that their march would be continued with all the despatch that their circumstances would admit. "As it will be of great importance (he added) towards the success of our present enterprise, that the enemy, on the arrival of the fleet, should not have it in their power to effect their retreat, I cannot omit to repeat to you my most earnest wish that the land and naval forces, which you will have with you, may so combine their operations, that the British army may not be able to escape. The particular mode of doing this, I shall not, at this distance, attempt to dictate. Your own knowledge of the country, from your long continuance in it, and the various and extensive movements which you have made, have given you great opportunities for observation ; of which I am persuaded your military genius and judgement will lead you to make the best improvement. You will, my dear marquis, keep me constantly advised of every important event respecting the enemy or yourself."

It would, perhaps, be sufficient to say, that these injunctions were fulfilled to the letter. To prevent the enemy's escape into North Carolina, Lafayette despatched troops to the south of James River, under pretence of dislodging the enemy from Portsmouth. With the same view he detained troops on the south of James River, under the pretence of detaching General Wayne, with the Pennsylvania troops, to the southern army, to re-enforce General Greene. He disclosed to no one his objects, and therefore they could not be betrayed to the enemy. It was at this period, and to aid in deceiving the enemy, that the pretended deserter, Morgan, mentioned in a preceding page, was sent to Lord Cornwallis' camp. By untiring efforts, by a series of the most skilful manœuvring for months, Lafayette had driven his adversaries into a position the most favourable to his plan of a naval co-operation ; and by persevering vigilance, skill and bravery, he held them to that position, after the danger had become apparent to them.

On the 1st of September, Lafayette had the satisfaction of announcing to Gen. Washington the arrival of Count de Grasse's fleet. It consisted of twenty-eight ships of the

line, with several frigates and convoys ; and a corps of three thousand troops under the Marquis St. Simon. Lafayette marched rapidly to Williamsburg, and effected a junction with the French troops on the 5th. He then crossed the river, united Wayne's corps to his own, and assembled, on the other side of the river, opposite to Gloucester, a corps of militia. Lord Cornwallis thus found himself, as though by magick, suddenly blockaded by sea and land, with no chance of escape, except by a perilous effort. He, however, reconnoitred Lafayette's position at Williamsburg, with the design of attacking it. He found it well chosen, and its defences strong and judiciously arranged. There were five thousand French and American troops, a large corps of militia, and well-manned siege artillery. His lordship declined hazarding the attack. There was one point by which, Lafayette thought, the enemy might possibly escape. He might have crossed over to Gloucester, and ascended York River, the Count de Grasse not having complied with the request of Lafayette to send some vessels up York River, to defend that passage. But in that attempt Cornwallis must have abandoned his artillery, magazines, and invalids ; and measures had been adopted to cut off his road in several places. He therefore abandoned all present idea of escape, and laboured night and day to complete his defences.

With the arrival of the French fleet, and the union of his countrymen with his gallant band of American soldiers, Lafayette was highly elated. He wrote to Gen. Washington : "Thanks to you, my dear general, I am in a very charming situation, and find myself at the head of a beautiful body of troops ; but am not so hasty as the Count de Grasse, and think that, having so sure a game to play, it would be madness, by the risk of an attack, to give any thing to chance." Indeed, the Count de Grasse, having so short a time to remain, was impatient of the least delays. Not finding, on his arrival, the combined armies of Gen. Washington and Count de Rochambeau, already on the ground, as he anticipated, and the prospects of their arrival being so distant, he was desirous that Lafayette should commence the attack with the French and American forces already under his command ; offering for that purpose, not only the detachments which formed the garrisons of the ships, but as many

sailors as might be required. The Marquis St. Simon, who, although senior in age and services to Lafayette, was junior in command, concurred with the admiral in opinion. They represented, that the works of Lord Cornwallis were yet in an unfinished state, and that a sudden and well-directed attack, under those circumstances, would probably prove successful; whereas, by waiting until the enemy's fortifications were completed, even with the additional forces expected, a long and difficult siege might be necessary. They said it was but just that their young countryman, who, after so long and arduous a campaign, had brought the enemy to his present condition, should have the glory of compelling him to surrender his arms. These considerations were tempting to a young general, of ardent temperament, not yet 24 years of age; and the attempt might have been justified by the declaration of the French admiral, that he could not wait the arrival of the northern armies. But Lafayette was proof against all considerations of personal ambition. He would not hazard the lives of the soldiers, with whom he had undergone so many hardships, in an attempt which, had it been successful, would have occasioned an immense bloodshed. He endeavoured to persuade his countrymen of the propriety of awaiting the arrival of Gen. Washington and Count de Rochambeau, to whom it properly belonged to direct an operation of so much importance; and whose added forces would ensure the conquest of the enemy without the sacrifice of so much blood.

The attention of Count de Grasse, however, was soon called to another object. From the junction of the French and American armies to the commencement of their march to the Chesapeake, the movements of General Washington had been such as to leave no doubt on the mind of Sir Henry Clinton of his intention to attack New York, and thus to prevent any re-enforcements being sent to Cornwallis in Virginia. Leaving a corps of 3,000 men under Gen. Heath, on the west of the Hudson, to protect West Point and the northern states, General Washington, with the remainder of the American army and the French army, pursued his march, on the 21st, towards Philadelphia; one column passing through Chatham, Springfield, &c., for the purpose of keeping up as long as possible, an appearance of threatening Staten Island, or of marching round to Sandy Hook to fa-

cilitate the entrance of the French fleet into the harbour. It was not until after these movements that Sir Henry Clinton was undeceived. Admiral Hood, with a British squadron from the West Indies, having arrived off New York, joined Admiral Graves, and proceeded with all speed for the Chesapeake. They arrived off the Chesapeake Bay on the 5th of September. Count de Grasse, with a large portion of his fleet, immediately went out to meet them; and having dispersed the enemy's vessels, returned to the Chesapeake on the 14th of September. In the mean time, Count de Barras, with the French squadron from Newport, had fortunately arrived in the bay, having captured two of the enemy's frigates. The same day General Washington had arrived at Williamsburg. He had, accompanied by Count de Rochambeau, preceded the army, which moved slowly, for the want of requisite means of conveyance by water, and was then at the Head of Elk and at Annapolis. On the 17th, accompanied by Count de Rochambeau, Chevalier de Chastellux, Gen. Knox and Gen. Duportail, he proceeded to Cape Henry, and had an interview, on board of one of the French vessels, with Admiral de Grasse. On the 23d, he wrote to the President of Congress, "I am happy to inform Congress, that I found the French admiral disposed in the best manner to give us all the assistance in his power, and perfectly to co-operate with me in our present attempt." The same day, however, the admiral wrote to him, that in consequence of certain intelligence from the West Indies, he was disposed to depart immediately to sea, leaving only two vessels, and the troops of St. Simon. At Washington's request, Lafayette forthwith repaired to the admiral, with a letter, representing to him the importance of his remaining, and saying, in conclusion: "The Marquis de Lafayette, who does me the honour to bear this to your excellency, will explain many particularities of our situation, which could not well be comprised in a letter. His candour and abilities are well known to you, and entitle him to the fullest confidence in treating of the most important interests."

Happily, Lafayette succeeded in his mission. The count, with feelings highly honourable to him, yielded his own plans, and entered fully into those of the siege. The French and American armies, arriving by land and water, formed a junction with those of Lafayette and St. Simon at Wil-

liamsburgh, on the 27th of September. On the next day, they marched to the investment of Yorktown, and that memorable siege was begun. Lafayette was no longer the Commander-in-chief of the army of Virginia. Gen. Washington took command in person and directed the siege. Count Rochambeau commanded the French, including the corps of St. Simon. One division of the American forces, including his brave army of Virginia, and two additional battalions of light infantry under Col. Hamilton, were placed under Lafayette, and the other division under Major General Lincoln, who had conducted the army from the north. The progress of the siege is thus stated by Count de Rochambeau in his Memoirs :

“ On the 28th of September we left Williamsburg at day-break and advanced to York. I began with the French corps to invest it from York River to the marsh, near the house of Colonel Nelson, taking advantage of the woods, the rideaux, and the marshy creeks, so as to confine the enemy to within pistol-shot of their works. The three French brigades were encamped very near, but covered by the ground from the enemy’s cannon. Viomesnil commanded the grenadiers and chasseurs of the vanguard, and our investing was effected without the loss of a single man. The same day general Washington, at the head of the American corps, was obliged to double behind us, and to stop on the marshes, all the bridges over which were broken down. He employed the rest of the day and the night in repairing them. On the 29th the American army passed the marsh on which its left was posted, and its right on York River. The investing of the place was complete, and as close as possible. The infantry of Lauzun having landed, marched under its colonel to join its cavalry, which I had sent by way of Tarre on the road to Gloucester, under the command of Brigadier-General Voneden, who commanded a corps of American militia. All the legion was united there on the 28th, the day on which York was invested.

“ On the 30th we had sent M. de Choisy to M. de Grasse to ask of him a detachment of the crews of his ships to re-enforce M. de Lauzun in the county of Gloucester. M. de Grasse gave him eight hundred men. On the 3d of October M. de Choisy went forward to invest Gloucester and take up a nearer position. Tarleton was on the spot with 400 cavalry and 200 infantry to forage. The legion of Lauzun, supported by a corps of American militia, attacked this detachment so impetuously that it broke it and obliged it to return into the place, with some loss. M. de Choisy, after this action, pushed his advanced posts within a mile of Gloucester.

“ The trenches were opened in the two attacks above and below York River, in the night of the 6th of October. That on the right was six or seven hundred toises in extent, and was flanked by four redoubts. It was made without any loss, because we began the work with that on the left, which, though it was only a false attack, at

tracted all the attention of the enemy. The strength of the English army which was invested, the character of the general who commanded it, obliged us to conduct all these attacks with great order and precaution. This is the proper place to give due praise to MM. Portail and de Querenet, who conducted this siege at the head of the engineers, and to M. d'Aboville, and to General Knox commanding the artillery of the two nations. The American army took charge of the right of the trenches, the French of the centre and of the left.

"I must do the Americans the justice to say, that they behaved with a degree of zeal, courage, and emulation, which never left them behind in all that they had undertaken, though they were unacquainted with the operations of a siege.

"We set fire by our batteries to one of the enemy's men-of-war and to three transports, which had cast anchor, with the intention of taking our attacks in the rear.

"In the night of the 14th the trenches having been relieved by the regiments of Gatinais and Royal-Deux-Ponts, under the command of Baron Viomesnil, we resolved on the attack of the two redoubts on the enemy's left. General Washington appointed Lafayette to that on the right, and I appointed M. de Viomesnil to that on the left with the French. Four hundred grenadiers debouched at the head of this attack, under the command of Count William de Deux-Ponts and of M. de l'Estrapade, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Gatinais. MM. de Viomesnil and Lafayette made so impetuous an attack that the redoubts were carried, sword in hand, at the same moment. The greater part of the men in them were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. A lodgment was made by joining these redoubts by a communication to the right of our second parallel, the ground on which they stood affording means of erecting new batteries which completed the blockade of the army of Cornwallis, and threw balls & ricochet into the whole of the interior of the place, at a distance which could not fail to do much damage. The Count des Deux-Ponts was wounded, and also Charles de Lameth, the adjutant-general, and M. de Gimat, aid-de-camp to Lafayette."

[Lafayette relates, that previous to the assault on the redoubts being commenced, the Baron de Viomesnil had expressed, in a somewhat boastful manner, the opinion he had of the superiority of the French in an attack of that kind : Lafayette, a little piqued at this seeming reflection upon the Americans, replied : "We are but young soldiers, and have but one sort of tactick on such occasions, which is, to discharge our muskets, and push on straight with the bayonet." He then led on the American troops, of whom he gave the command to Col. Hamilton, with the Colonels Laurens and Gimat under him. The American troops carried the redoubt in a very few minutes at the point of the bayonet. As the enemy's firing continued in the redoubt, assailed by the French, Lafayette sent an aid-de-camp to the

Baron, to tell him that he (Lafayette,) had carried his redoubt, and to ask, whether, he (Viomesnil,) did not require aid from the Americans ? "Tell Lafayette," said Viomesnil, "that I have not yet carried my redoubt, but shall do so in five minutes." He made his words good.]

"In the night of the 15th the enemy made a sally with 800 chosen men. He met with resistance at all our redoubts, and took possession of a battery of the second parallel, where he spiked four guns. The Chevalier de Chastellux marched against the enemy with his reserve, and repulsed this sally. The four guns being badly spiked, were rendered serviceable six hours afterwards by the care of General d'Abouville, commander of our artillery. The Marquis de St. Simon was wounded in the trenches on the following day, and not wishing to be relieved, finished his twenty-four hours of duty.

"At last, on the 17th, the enemy commenced a parley, and the capitulation was signed on the 19th of October, by which Lord Cornwallis and his army were made prisoners of war. The Americans and French took possession at noon of two bastions. The garrison defiled at two o'clock between the two armies, with drums beating, carrying their arms, which they afterwards piled with twenty pair of colours. Lord Cornwallis being ill, General O'Hara defiled at the head of the garrison. When he came up he presented his sword to me. I pointed to General Washington, who was opposite me at the head of the American army, and told him that the French army being auxiliaries on the continent, it was the American general who was to signify his orders to him.

"Colonel Laurens, Viscount Noailles, and M. de Granchain had been appointed by their respective generals to draw up the articles of his capitulation, together with some superior officers of the army of Lord Cornwallis. It was signed by General Washington, the Count de Rochambeau, and M. de Barras, as representative of Count de Grasse, and immediately carried into execution. We found 8,000 prisoners, of whom 7,000 were regular troops, and 1,000 sailors; 214 pieces of cannon, of which 75 were of brass, and 22 pair of colours. Among the prisoners there were at least 2,000 in the hospitals, of whom the greatest care was taken. All the rest were sent into the interior of the country."

Count Dumas, who conducted the capitulation on the part of the French general, states : "The garrison defiled between the two lines, beyond which I caused them to form in order of battle, and pile their arms. The English officers manifested the most bitter mortification, and I remember that Colonel Abercrombie, of the English guards, (the same who afterwards perished in Egypt, on the field of battle, where he had just triumphed,) at the moment when his troops laid down their arms, withdrew rapidly, covering his face and biting his sword." It was indeed a result hu-

miliating to British pride ; and the officers sought to evade the consciousness of *rebel triumph*, by ungenerous reflections upon the American officers, and professions of respect for the French. Cornwallis had undoubtedly affected indisposition, that he might not surrender at the head of his troops. Generals Washington, Rochambeau, and Lafayette, sent their aids-de-camp to present him their compliments. He detained the aid-de-camp of Lafayette, Major Washington, nephew of the general, and expressed his anxiety to explain in person to the general who had so gallantly opposed him during the campaign, that he had only surrendered when defence was no longer possible. The next day Lafayette called to see him. "I know," said Cornwallis, "your humanity towards prisoners, and I recommend my poor army to you." This was said in a tone and manner which implied that he had confidence in Lafayette alone, and not in the Americans. Lafayette therefore replied with spirit : "You know, my lord, that the Americans have always been humane towards captured armies"—alluding more particularly to the case of Burgoyne's army, captured at Saratoga. Indeed, Cornwallis, who was a brave and able officer, and greatly pained at his misfortune, was treated by General Washington, and the French and American officers, with the greatest kindness and respect ; and a like treatment was extended to all of the prisoners. Lafayette, participating in these acts of generosity, and alive to the honour of the Americans, would suffer no imputations to be cast upon them, unrepelled. General O'Hara having remarked one day at table, to the French generals, affecting to speak so that Lafayette could not hear him, that he considered it as fortunate not to have been taken by the Americans alone, "General O'Hara, probably," replied Lafayette, "does not like repetitions." He had been captured with Burgoyne, and was afterwards taken for the third time, by the French at Toulon.

The news of the capitulation at Yorktown, flew upon the wings of the wind, and occasioned joy to the hearts of all who were friendly to the American cause. It was conveyed to France, by a French frigate, in the short passage of eighteen days. In England, it occasioned consternation to the war advocates, and caused the downfall of Lord North's ministry. The way was thus prepared to an honourable

peace for the American people, with the acknowledgment of their independence as its basis.

But this decisive event did not relax the vigilance of Washington and Lafayette. They wished to make "assurance doubly sure," by striking a blow upon the enemy further south. It was proposed that Lafayette, with two thousand Americans, and St. Simon's corps of French, should be conveyed by the squadron of Count de Grasse, to secure the capture of Charleston, and co-operate with Gen. Greene, who commanded there, in driving the enemy from the Carolinas. But the Count de Grasse, anxious to return to the West Indies, and restricted by his instructions, refused all co-operation, although Lafayette held frequent and earnest interviews with him, to endeavour to induce him at least to detach a part of his vessels to convey re-enforcements to Gen. Greene. When Lafayette, returning from his last visit to the admiral, landed at Yorktown, Lord Cornwallis, who was still there, remarked to some officers, "I will lay a bet he has been making arrangements for our ruin at Charleston!"

Active military operations for the season were at an end. The American army, with the exception of two thousand men, who were detached to re-enforce Gen. Greene in the south, returned to winter quarters near the banks of the Hudson. The French army remained in Virginia until the following summer. Lafayette resolved to visit once more his native land. Added to the natural desire of seeing his family and friends, he cherished the purpose of procuring from the French government further and substantial aid to America, and more particularly to urge a powerful naval co-operation, for the ensuing campaign, in case an honourable peace should not previously be concluded. On the point of leaving Yorktown, he took leave, in a general order, of his brave corps of infantry, with whom he had undergone so many perils, and achieved such glorious results. "In the moment (he said) the major-general leaves this place, he wishes once more to express his gratitude to the brave corps of light infantry, who for nine months past have been the companions of his fortunes. He will never forget that with them alone, of regular troops, he had the good fortune to manœuvre before

an army which, after all its reductions, is still six times superior to the regular force he had at that time."

Repairing to Philadelphia, a formal leave of absence was granted to him by Congress ; and it was resolved, (November 23d, 1781,) "that Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette be informed that, on a review of his conduct throughout the past campaign, and particularly during the period in which he had the chief command in Virginia, the many new proofs which present themselves of his zealous attachment to the cause he has espoused, and of his judgement, vigilance, gallantry and address in its office, have greatly added to the high opinion entertained by Congress of his merit and military talents." It was also resolved, "That the secretary of foreign affairs acquaint the ministers plenipotentiary of the United States, that it is the desire of Congress that they confer with the Marquis de Lafayette, and avail themselves of his information relative to the situation of publick affairs in the United States." And that he "further acquaint the minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, that he will conform to the intention of Congress, by consulting with and employing the assistance of the Marquis de Lafayette in accelerating the supplies, which may be afforded by his most Christian Majesty for the use of the United States." Congress also wrote by him a letter to the king of France, in which Lafayette was warmly recommended to the favour of his sovereign.

Thus honoured and commissioned by Congress, Lafayette repaired to Boston, where the American frigate *Alliance*, the same in which he had embarked on his former voyage, was in readiness, by order of Congress, to convey him to France.

In the mean time, the conduct of Lafayette in Virginia had called forth the warm approbation of his own government. The minister of war, Count de Segur, wrote to him as follows :

" December 5th, 1781.

" The king, sir, having been informed of the military talents of which you have given such multiplied proofs whilst commanding the different corps of the army that has been confided to you in the United States ; of the wisdom and prudence that have guided you in the various decisions you were called upon to take respecting the interests of the United States ; and of the great confidence with which you have

inspired General Washington; his Majesty has desired me to tell you, that the praises you have so justly merited on such various occasions have fixed his attention, and that your conduct and successes have made him, sir, conceive the most favourable opinion of you; such a one as you might yourself desire, and from which you may depend on his future kindness. His Majesty, in order to give you a very flattering and peculiar mark of this intention, renews to you the rank of field-marshal in his armies, which you are to enjoy as soon as the American war shall be terminated, at which period you will quit the service of the United States to re-enter that of his Majesty. In virtue of this decision, sir, you may be considered as field-marshal from the date of the signature of the capitulation, after the siege of Yorktown, by General Cornwallis, the 19th October, of this year, on account of your fulfilling at that time the functions belonging to that rank in the troops of the United States of America."

His good friend, and the friend of America, Count de Ver-gennes, also congratulated him (Lafayette) on the occasion :

" We have learned with great pleasure, (said the count,) that, notwithstanding you have not had the direction in chief of this grand operation, [the siege of Yorktown,] yet your prudent conduct and preliminary manœuvres prepared the way for success. I followed you step by step through your whole campaign in Virginia, and should often have trembled for you, if I had not been confident in your wisdom. It requires no common ability and skill to enable a man to sustain himself as you have done, and during so long a time, before such a general as Lord Cornwallis, who is lauded for his talents in war; and this, too, with a great disproportion in your forces. It was you, who conducted him to his fatal destination, where, instead of making you prisoner, as he had predicted, he was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself in that character."

Previous to Lafayette's departure, General Washington, who had been detained by family affairs in Virginia, bade him farewell, by letter, in which he gave a detailed opinion, for Lafayette's guidance in France, respecting the operations of the next campaign. " I owe it (he said) to your friendship, and to my affectionate regard for you, my dear marquis, not to let you leave this country without carrying with you fresh marks of my attachment to you, and new expressions of the high sense I entertain of your military conduct, and other important services in the course of the last campaign, although the latter are too well known to need the testimony of my approbation; and the former, I persuade myself you believe, is too well rivited to undergo diminution or change. \* \* \* \* If I should be deprived of the pleasure of a personal interview with you before your departure, permit me to adopt this method of

making you a tender of my ardent vows for a propitious voyage, a gracious reception from your prince, an honourable reward for your services, a happy meeting with your lady and friends, and a safe return in the spring, to, my dear marquis, your affectionate friend," &c.

On board of the *Alliance*, off Boston, December 21st, Lafayette wrote to Gen. Washington, repeating his devotion to the affairs of America, acknowledging the kind attention he had received in Boston, and concluding as follows : "I beg your pardon, my dear general, for giving you so much trouble in reading my scrawls ; but we are going to sail, and my last adieu, I must dedicate to my beloved general. Adieu, my dear general : I know your heart so well, that I am sure that no distance can alter your attachment to me. With the same candour, I assure you that my love, my respect, my gratitude for you, are above expression ; that at the moment of leaving you, I feel more than ever the strength of those friendly ties that for ever bind me to you, and that I anticipate the pleasure, the most wished for pleasure, to be again with you, and, by my zeal and services, to gratify the feelings of my respect and affection."

Here, although it was his intention to return as a combatant, should hostilities continue, honourably and gloriously terminated the military services of Lafayette in America. To these services, justice has scarcely been done by any writer by whom the history of that period has been recorded. Gen. Henry Lee, in his *Memoirs of the War in the Southern States*, passes the following just encomium upon the conduct of Lafayette, during the most difficult portion of the campaign in Virginia : "In this period of gloom, of disorder and peril, Lafayette was collected and undismayed. With zeal, with courage, and with sagacity, he discharged his arduous duties ; and throughout his difficult retreat, was never brought even to array but once in order of battle. Invigorating our councils by his precepts ; dispelling our despondency by his example, and encouraging his troops to submit to their many privations, by the cheerfulness with which he participated in their wants ; he imparted the energy of his own mind to the country, and infused his high-toned spirit into the army." Mr. Madison paid at that time his just tribute to Lafayette, in a letter to Edmund Pendleton, dated November 13, 1781. "Will not the as-

sembly (he wrote) pay some handsome compliment to the marquis, for his judicious and zealous services while the protection of the country was intrusted to him ? His having baffled, and finally reduced to the defensive, so powerful an army as we now know he had to contend with, and with so disproportionate a force, would have done honour to the most veteran officer, and added to his other merits and services, constitutes a claim on their gratitude, which I hope will not be unattended to."

Indeed, throughout the whole of the Virginia campaign, Lafayette exhibited a zeal and patriotism of the highest and purest order ; and traits of generalship, combining valour and discretion, which have not been surpassed by any general of a similar age, under similar circumstances. Let us recall to mind a young man, scarcely twenty-four years of age, the commander-in-chief of a skeleton army, by which he is known and regarded as a foreigner, in birth, in manners and in language ! See him, confronting a suffering and mutinous soldiery ; reconciling them to their condition ; feeding and clothing them at his own expense ; inspiring them with a spirit of ardour, and leading them onward, far from their homes, to encounter perils and death, in a distant and sickly climate ! Behold him, baffling the skill and energies of the most experienced English generals—advancing and retreating, in the face of the enemy ; eluding the vigilance of his pursuers, and outmaneuvring and outflanking a more numerous and disciplined army. Behold him, turning the tide of pursuit, successfully skirmishing, and skilfully avoiding engagements at unpropitious periods ; and alluring and compelling his adversary into the very position which he desired, as most favourable to his ultimate purpose ! Behold him, no longer in chief command, exhibiting the same unexampled courage and skill in a subordinate station, carrying at the point of the bayonet a formidable redoubt of the enemy, and essentially contributing to a victory, the results of which are more important than those of any other that the civilized world has witnessed ! What eulogiums can be bestowed by freemen, upon such a champion of their rights and liberties, which are not fully merited ? What adequate returns can be rendered for such services, by those who are the recipients of the benefits secured ?

## CHAPTER XX.

Lafayette received with enthusiasm in France—His continued devotion to the American cause—Letters of Washington—Approbatory resolutions of Virginia—Negotiations for peace—Formidable preparations for a new campaign—The treaty finally signed—Lafayette sends the ship *Triumph* to America, with the first news of peace—Deterred from accompanying it, by diplomatick difficulties at Madrid—Repairs to that city, and procures the acknowledgment by Spain of M. Carmichael—Desire and intention of revisiting America—Invitation to General Washington—Madame Lafayette unites in it—Washington's letter to Madame Lafayette—Lafayette embarks for, and arrives in, America—His reception—Meeting with Gen. Washington—Return to the north—Liberality to Matthew Carey—Ascends the Hudson—Is present at an Indian treaty—Returns to the south—Reception by the Legislature of Virginia—Resolution and address of Congress—Lafayette's reply—Affectionate farewell letter from Gen. Washington—Embarks from New York—Arrives safely in France.

THE reception of Lafayette in France was not less enthusiastick than it had been, at his previous return. By the people, he was regarded as the disinterested and successful champion of liberty ; and by the king and court, as a hero, who had sustained abroad the honour of France, and spread throughout the new world the glory of her name. Could we penetrate the veil of the domestick sanctuary, what joy should we see depicted there ? An affectionate wife, who for years had resigned a beloved husband to the perils of the tented field, and in a distant land—children, who had been taught to lisp the name of a father, whom their eyes had scarce ever beheld—are restored to the fond embraces of that husband and father, under the most honourable auspices, and the most genial influences. The pride of the human heart is never more justifiably indulged, than when it sympathises with the honourable renown of a beloved object. In a journey which he made, accompanied by Madame Lafayette and his children, to his estates in Touraine, Lafayette was every where greeted by the people and by the publick authorities, with enthusiastick applause and civick honours. The bells were rung and processions formed, to

welcome his approach to the towns, and “ Long live Lafayette,” resounded from the crowds which assembled to behold him.

But these gratifying manifestations by his warm hearted countrymen, did not divert the attention of Lafayette from the cause of America. He kept himself well advised of the state of affairs on the one side of the Atlantick, while he was busily employed on the other, in urging forward measures for a vigorous co-operation by the French government, should another campaign be necessary to secure an honourable peace. In a letter of January 4th, (1782,) Gen. Washington informed him of the intentions of Congress to keep up the army, and urged the importance of procuring further pecuniary aid, and a naval superiority on the coast, from France, for the ensuing campaign. In the same letter he said : “ I shall be impatient to hear of your safe arrival in France, and to receive such communications as you know will be interesting to the cause we espouse, and in which we are actors. Though unknown to Madame de Lafayette, I beg you to present me to her as one of her greatest admirers ” General Washington also enclosed to Lafayette the resolutions of the Legislature of Virginia, highly approving of his conduct during the late campaign in that state ; and added : “ I have a peculiar pleasure of becoming the channel through which the just and grateful plaudits of my native state are communicated to the man I love.”

But the British government, after the dissolution of the North ministry, soon manifested a disposition for peace. Secret and separate advances were at first made to the American commissioners and to the French government ; and it is to their honour, that neither would listen to propositions in which both nations were not reciprocally included. In the spring of 1782, the enemy gave indications of an intention to withdraw their forces from the American continent, and to concentrate them in the West Indies, for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France and Spain in that quarter. The instructions of Sir Guy Carleton, who superseded Sir Henry Clinton as commander of the British army in America, early in May, were conciliatory in their character ; and the spirit of them was manifested in his intercourse and correspondence with the American authorities and people. But it was not until the month of

July that negotiations for peace were formally commenced at Paris, upon a basis which justified and produced a partial cessation of hostilities. In the mean time, a powerful armament was in preparation by France and Spain, and the joint forces were assembling at Cadiz. The Count de Estaing, commander of the land and naval forces, was, in case of the continuance of hostilities, to attack Jamaica with sixty vessels and twenty-four thousand men ; Lafayette, who had conducted eight thousand French troops from Brest to Cadiz, was appointed chief of the staff of the combined armies. After operating in the West Indies, the expedition was ultimately to proceed to New York ; and, if circumstances justified, Lafayette was to have conducted an expedition against Canada. These formidable preparations quickened the pacifick disposition of the English cabinet ; and the final treaty of peace was signed at Paris, on the 20th of January, 1783. Lafayette was the first to announce this joyful event to America ; and for this purpose he despatched the *Triumph*, a French armed vessel from Count de Estaing's squadron at Cadiz, which arrived at Philadelphia on the 23d of March, with the following letter from Lafayette to the President of Congress :

“ Cadiz, 5 February, 1783.

“ SIR—Having been at some pains to engage a vessel to go to Philadelphia, I now find myself happily relieved by the kindness of Count D'Estaing. He is just now pleased to tell me, that he will dispatch a French ship, and, by way of compliment on the occasion, he has made choice of the *Triumph*. So that I am not without hopes of giving Congress the first tidings of a general peace ; and I am happy in the smallest opportunity of doing any thing, that may prove agreeable to America. I have the honour to be, &c.

“ LAFAYETTE.”

Lafayette was desirous of bearing in person, to the shores of America, the glad tidings of an event which restored to it an honourable peace, established its freedom, and elevated it to the rank of an independent nation. He was desirous of uniting, with heart and voice, in the first outpourings of national joy and gratitude, by a free people, whose toils and dangers he had shared, whose battles he had fought, and to whose welfare he was so ardently devoted. But, a faithful regard to its interests, a determination to sustain its national character, as he had done its liberty and independence, in-

duced him to forego the personal gratification of an immediate journey to America. We have seen, that on his departure for France, Lafayette was commissioned by Congress to confer with and aid the diplomatick agents of the United States in their negotiations. The King of Spain, from some capricious views, after having signed the treaty of peace which acknowledged the independence of the United States, refused to receive Mr. Carmichael, who had been Secretary of Legation at Paris, and was appointed Charge d'Affaires at his court, in his diplomatick character. In this dilemma, Mr. Charmichael wrote from Madrid to Lafayette, who was then at Cadiz, for aid. Lafayette repaired immediately to Madrid ; had an interview with the king and his principal minister, and by his zeal and influence, procured in the course of eight days the full recognition of Mr. Carmichael as Charge d'Affaires of the United States.

These new proofs of Lafayette's devotion to the interests of his adopted country, were promptly acknowledged by its constituted authorities : and, what was far more gratifying to him than any other testimonial, secured him the following expressions of cordial approbation from Gen. Washington, in a letter dated April 5th :

" It is easier for you to conceive, than for me to express, the sensibility of my heart at the communications of your letter of the 5th of February from Cadiz. It is to these communications we are indebted for the only account yet received of a general pacification. My mind, upon the receipt of this intelligence, was instantly assailed by a thousand ideas, all of them contending for pre-eminence ; but, believe me, my dear friend, none could supplant, or ever will eradicate that gratitude, which has arisen from a lively sense of the conduct of your nation and from my obligations to many of its illustrious characters (of whom, I do not mean to flatter, when I place you at the head), and from my admiration of the virtues of your august sovereign, who, at the same time that he stands confessed the father of his own people, and defender of American rights, has given the most exalted example of moderation in treating with his enemies."

\* \* \* \* \*

" The armament which was preparing at Cadiz, and in which you were to have acted a distinguished part, would have carried such conviction with it, that it is not to be wondered at, that Great Britain should have been impressed with the force of such reasoning. To this cause, I am persuaded, the peace is to be ascribed. Your going to Madrid from thence, instead of coming immediately to this country, is another instance, my dear Marquis, of your zeal for the American cause, and lays a fresh claim to the gratitude of her sons, who will at all times receive you with open arms."

Although necessarily occupied, after so long a neglect of them, with the arrangement of his private affairs, the solicitations of Washington and others of his American friends, inspired Lafayette with the wish, and he cherished the design, of speedily re-visiting America. The first moments of congratulation had passed—the fervour had subsided—but Lafayette was nevertheless anxious of communing, upon their own free soil, with his friends and companions in arms, and of resigning into the hands of Congress the military commission with which he had been intrusted. He therefore announced to Gen. Washington and to Congress his intention of visiting the United States the ensuing spring. In the mean time he employed himself diligently and efficiently in aiding the commercial arrangements of the United States with the French government, and other continental powers. He also, in the most pressing and affectionate terms, invited Gen. Washington and Lady to visit him in France. Madame Lafayette united in this invitation, by an affectionate letter, addressed personally to General Washington. From the delightful shades of Mount Vernon, Gen. Washington replied, (April 4, 1784,) in a letter, kind and complimentary. As a rare specimen of the social feelings of this great and good man, a few extracts from this letter will be acceptable to those readers for whom the topics of war and politicks have not an absorbing interest :

“ Great as your claim is, (he wrote,) as a French or American woman, or as the wife of my amiable friend, to my affectionate regards, you have others to which the palm must be yielded. The charms of your person, and the beauties of your mind, have a more powerful operation. These, Madam, have endeared you to me, and every thing, which partakes of your nature, will have a claim to my affections. George and Virginia, the offspring of your love, whose names do honour to my country and to myself, have a double claim, and will be the objects of my vows.

“ Freed from the clangour of arms and the bustle of a camp, from the cares of publick employment and the responsibility of office, I am now enjoying domestick ease under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig-tree ; and, in a small villa, with the implements of husbandry and lambkins around me, I expect to glide gently down the stream of life, till I am entombed in the mansion of my fathers.

“ Mrs. Washington is highly honoured by your participations, and feels very sensibly the force of your polite invitation to Paris ; but, she is too far advanced in life, and is too much immersed in the care of her little progeny, to cross the Atlantick. This, my dear Marchioness (indulge the freedom), is not the case with you. You have youth (and if you should not incline to bring your children, can leave

them with all the advantages of education), and must have a curiosity to see the country, young, rude, and uncultivated as it is, for the liberties of which your husband has fought, bled, and acquired much glory, where every body admires, every body loves him. Come, then, let me entreat you, and call my cottage your home ; for your own doors do not open to you with more readiness than mine would. You will see the plain manner in which we live, and meet with rustick civility ; and you shall taste the simplicity of rural life. It will diversify the scene, and may give you a higher relish for the gayeties of the court, when you return to Versailles. In these wishes, and in most respectful compliments, Mrs. Washington joins me."

With this kind invitation, however, Madame Lafayette could not comply ; and Lafayette was himself the bearer of her apology. He embarked at Havre, the first of July, and arrived at New York on the 4th of August. It was the first time Lafayette had entered the city of New York, the British having held possession of it during the whole period of his military services in America. He had often viewed it, however, from the Jersey shore, and had ardently panted for an opportunity of wresting so fair a possession from the hands of the enemy. His reception there was most cordial. A publick dinner was given him the day after his arrival, at which the disbanded officers of the army appeared, once more in full uniform. From New York, Lafayette proceeded to Philadelphia, where, by a numerous host of friends and the citizens generally, he was most enthusiastically welcomed. A committee, consisting of Generals St. Clair, Wayne and Irwine, presented to him the congratulations of his companions in arms and the inhabitants generally. The legislature of the state, by a committee of one member from each county, presented to him an address, in which they said : "The representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania offer you their sincere congratulations upon your safe arrival at Philadelphia, and welcome you in the name of the state. Enjoying the blessings of liberty and peace, we contemplate with much satisfaction those distinguished persons who, disregarding the dangers of the seas, united their efforts to our own, to aid in terminating the war. Among these illustrious individuals, we rank you the chief ; your example and your zeal have animated and encouraged our own citizens, nor did you leave us until we had attained the great object of all our hopes."

Anxious to behold again his beloved general, Lafayette

left Philadelphia on the 14th, and arrived at Mount Vernon on the 17th of August. Washington and Lafayette were once more together. It was a meeting, hallowed by earth and heaven. The purest of patriots, the sincerest of friends, the bravest and most successful of military commanders, mingled their congratulations upon the successful termination of their toils, and the establishment of a nation's freedom.

After enjoying for fourteen days the hospitalities of Mount Vernon, Lafayette returned to the north. While sojourning a few days in Philadelphia, he added to the numerous acts of private liberality, most of which, amounting in the aggregate to a large sum, must ever remain among the hidden treasures of time, one that has recently been made publick. Matthew Carey, since well known as an eminent bookseller and able writer, persecuted in Ireland for his political opinions, had just arrived in Philadelphia, poor and nearly penniless. Lafayette being accidentally informed of the fact, invited Mr. Carey to call upon him; received him with kindness; encouraged him in the project he contemplated of establishing a newspaper in Philadelphia, and a few days after sent him as a free gift, the liberal sum of four hundred dollars. For this act of sympathy and generosity, Lafayette never wished or expected to receive payment; but Mr. Carey, who became a wealthy, as well as highly respectable and useful citizen, subsequently repaid him the full amount.

From New York Lafayette ascended the Hudson River, and accompanied the commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Indians at Fort Schuyler. His influence here was highly beneficial, as it had ever been in treating with the savage tribes. He made to the chiefs many presents; and his name is still remembered among the Indians of the west. From thence he passed through the states of Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, to Boston; and everywhere he was greeted by the people and by the publick authorities, with every proof of welcome, affection, and respect, and of gratitude for the immense services he had rendered to the country. At Boston, particularly, he was entertained by a numerous body of the Society of Cincinnati, comprising many of his companions in arms, who had contended for and established with him, the Independence of America. From Boston he proceeded

by water, in the French frigate *Nymphe*, to the Chesapeake Bay. He landed at Yorktown, and passed over the scenes of his late military exploits, to Williamsburg and to Richmond. Here, on the 17th of November, he met with Gen. Washington, who had arrived two days previous. The Legislature of Virginia was then in session. Gen. Washington had been congratulated by them on his arrival; and immediately on learning the arrival of Lafayette, the House of Delegates adopted the following resolution :

“ The house being informed of the arrival, this morning, of the Marquis de Lafayette in this city, Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that a committee of five be appointed, to present to him the affectionate respects of this house, to signify to him their sensibility to the pleasing proof given by this visit to the United States, and to this state in particular, that the benevolent and honourable sentiments which originally prompted him to embark in the hazardous fortunes of America, still render the prosperity of its affairs an object of his attention and regard; and to assure him, that they cannot review the scenes of blood and danger through which we have arrived at the blessings of peace, without being touched, in the most lively manner, with the recollection, not only of the invaluable services for which the United States at large are so much indebted to him, but of that conspicuous display of cool intrepidity and wise conduct, during his command in the campaign of 1781, which, by having so essentially served this state in particular, have given him so just a title to its particular acknowledgments. That, impressed as they thus are with the distinguished lustre of his character, they cannot form a wish more suitable, than that the lesson it affords may inspire all those whose noble minds may emulate his glory, to pursue it by means equally auspicious to the interests of humanity.

“ And a committee was appointed of Mr. Henry, Mr. Madison, Mr. Jones, (of King George,) Mr. Mathews, and Mr. Brent.”

To this address, Lafayette made the following polite and feeling answer :—

“ Gentlemen,—With the most respectful thanks to your honourable body, permit me to acknowledge, not only the flattering favour they are now pleased to confer, but also the constant partiality, and unbounded confidence of this state, which in trying times, I have so happily experienced. Through the continent, gentlemen, it is most pleasing for me to join with my friends in mutual congratulations; and I need not add what my sentiments must be in Virginia, where step by step have I so keenly felt for her distress, so eagerly enjoyed her recovery. Our armed force was obliged to retreat, but your patriotic hearts stood unshaken and while either at that period, or in our better hours, my obligations to you are numberless; I am happy in this opportunity to observe, that the excellent services of your militia were continued with unparalleled steadiness. Impressed with

the necessity of federal union, I was the more pleased in the command of an army so peculiarly federal ; as Virginia herself freely bled in defence of her sister states.

" In my wishes to this commonwealth, gentlemen, I will persevere with the same zeal, that once and for ever has devoted me to her.—May her fertile soil rapidly increase her wealth—may all the waters which so luxuriantly flow within her limits, be happy channels of the most extensive trade—and may she in her wisdom and the enjoyment of prosperity, continue to give the world unquestionable proofs of her philanthropy and her regard for the liberties of all mankind.

" LAFAYETTE."

From Richmond, Lafayette returned with Gen. Washington to Mount Vernon, where he remained about a week. From thence, Washington accompanied him to Annapolis, where publick honours were conferred upon him by the Legislature of Maryland, and he and his heirs male were declared citizens of the state ; the same privileges of citizenship were granted in Virginia, and in several other states of the Union. Here the two hero-friends parted, on the 30th of November, never to meet again this side of the grave. Lafayette proceeded to Trenton, where Congress was then in session. A committee, consisting of one member from each state, was appointed by that body, to receive, and to take leave of, Lafayette, in the name of Congress. The committee was instructed to assure him, that Congress continued to entertain the same high sense of his abilities and zeal to promote the welfare of America, both here and in Europe, which they had frequently expressed and manifested on former occasions, and which the recent marks of his attention to their commercial and other interests had perfectly confirmed : " That, as his uniform and unceasing attachment to this country has resembled that of a patriotick citizen, the United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honour and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him." It was further resolved, " that a letter be written to his most Christian Majesty, to be signed by the President of Congress, expressive of the high sense which the United States, in Congress assembled, entertain of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the Marquis de Lafayette, and recommending him to the favour and patronage of his majesty."

The next day, (December 10th,) the purport of these res-

olutions was communicated to Lafayette, in the Hall of Congress, with an appropriate address, by John Jay, Chairman of the Committee. The reply of Lafayette, fervid and eloquent, breathing a spirit of devotion to the best interests of America, concluded as follows: " May this immense temple of freedom ever stand as a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind ! and may these happy United States attain that complete splendour and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come rejoice the departed souls of their founders ! Never can Congress oblige me so much as when they put it in my power, in every part of the world, to the latest day of my life, to gratify the attachment which will ever rank me among the most zealous and respectful servants of the United States."

About the time that he thus took a solemn leave of Congress, Lafayette received the following affectionate and deeply impressive farewell letter from Gen. Washington :

*"Mount Vernon, 8 December, 1784.*

" MY DEAR MARQUIS—The peregrination of the day in which I parted from you ended at Marlborough. The next day, bad as it was, I got home before dinner.

" In the moment of our separation, upon the road as I travelled, and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connexion, and your merits have inspired me. I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I should ever have of you ? And though I wished to say No, my fears answered Yes. I called to mind the days of my youth, and found they had long since fled to return no more ; that I was now descending the hill I had been fifty-two years climbing, and that, though I was blest with a good constitution, I was of a short-lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the mansion of my fathers. These thoughts darkened the shades, and gave a gloom to the picture, and consequently to my prospect of seeing you again. But I will not repine ; I have had my day. \* \* \* \* \*

" It is unnecessary, I persuade myself, to repeat to you, my dear Marquis, the sincerity of my regards and friendship; nor have I words which could express my affection for you, were I to attempt it. My fervent prayers are offered for your safe and pleasant passage, happy meeting with Madame de Lafayette and family, and the completion of every wish of your heart ; in all which Mrs. Washington joins me ; as she does in compliments to Captain Grandecheau, and the Chevalier, of whom little Washington often speaks. With every sentiment, which is propitious and endearing, I am, &c."

With these honours and benedictions, and reciprocating

in his heart every act and expression of kindness which had been bestowed upon him, Lafayette for the third time took leave of America. He embarked at New York, amidst a primitive national salute of thirteen guns, on board the *Nymphe* frigate, Dec. 25th, and arrived safely in Paris, on the 25th of January, 1785.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

Lafayette's official connexion with America terminates—He enters upon another field of action—Continues to serve America—Visits the courts of Germany—Reception by the Emperour Joseph and Frederick the Great—His liberal principles confirmed—Plans for emancipating the blacks from slavery—Purchases an estate at Cayenne for that purpose—His views approved by Gen. Washington—Their nature and extent—For gradual, not sudden, emancipation—Favours the French Protestants—The bust of Lafayette, presented by the State of Virginia, through Mr. Jefferson, to the municipality of Paris—Is placed, with imposing ceremonies, in the *Hotel de Ville*.

HERE closed the official connexion of Lafayette with America. We are now to trace his progress upon another—a more broad, and not less interesting and important, field of action. But although labouring as a Frenchman, to establish free institutions, and the rational liberties of the people in France, Lafayette was not the less devoted to the interests of the young republick of the west, to the foundation of which he had so essentially contributed. After his return from the United States, he immediately exerted his influence to establish the cominercial intercourse of the two countries upon reciprocal principles. He endeavoured especially to secure for the Americans a favourable market in France for what were at that time important items of their commerce, namely, whale oil, the production of the eastern fisheries, and tobacco, the growth of the southern states. These services were acknowledged warmly and promptly, by Gen. Washington. In a letter to Lafayette, September 1, 1785, he said: “Your constant attention, and unwearied endeavours to serve the interests of the United States, cannot fail to keep alive in them a grateful sensibility, and the affectionate regard of all their citizens for you.”

During the year 1785, Lafayette visited the courts of Austria and Prussia, and other German states, with the principal object of inspecting the armies which were then assembling in that portion of Europe. His well-known republican principles did not prevent his being received, at all the courts which he visited, with the greatest cordiality and distinction, particularly by the Emperour Joseph II, of Austria, and Frederick the Great, of Prussia. He arrived at Potsdam, in September, just as the last grand review of this distinguished monarch had commenced. Here were assembled 50,000 men, from every part of the kingdom, who for three successive days, in presence of a brilliant assemblage of princes, noblemen, and distinguished military commanders, went through the evolutions of battles, sieges and storms, under the immediate command of the king himself. No sooner was the arrival of Lafayette made known to Frederick, than he despatched an aid-de-camp to invite him to his palace. He treated Lafayette with great distinction and kindness, both in publick and private ; complimented him upon his services in America, and expressed admiration of Gen. Washington. When about to part, Frederick took from a box his miniature, set with diamonds, and presenting it to Lafayette, expressed the hope, that although they might never meet again, that small memento might sometimes recall him to recollection.

These distinctions, paid to Lafayette by the first monarchs of Europe, were not more honourable to him than to them. They exhibited alike their discernment in recognising, and their liberality in respecting, the merits of their guest. Lafayette gave a description of this tour, in letters to Gen. Washington and to Mr. Jay. But, gratifying as were the incidents of his journey, and grateful as he felt for the hospitalities he received, the splendid honours and displays of royalty had no tendency to lessen the ardour of his liberal principles. He returned to France, fully confirmed in them, and with a determination to practise upon them, on all occasions, publick and private.

While serving in America, Lafayette had conceived a plan for the gradual emancipation of the blacks from slavery. Many of the American patriots, among whom were Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, Laurens, &c., coincided with the views of Lafayette, and believed

the object to be then practicable. Simultaneously with the account of the conclusion of peace, Lafayette had communicated to Gen. Washington a proposition for the accomplishment of this object. We have not been able to meet with it; but it is thus acknowledged by Gen. Washington, in his letter to Lafayette of 5th April, 1783: "The scheme, my dear marquis, which you propose as a precedent to encourage the emancipation of the blacks in this country from that state of bondage in which they are held, is a striking evidence of the benevolence of your heart. I shall be happy to join you in so laudable a work; but will defer going into a detail of the business, until I have the pleasure of seeing you."

Lafayette embraced the first opportunity of testing the practicability of his views upon the subject of negro emancipation; and, unlike most reformers, commenced his experiment at home, and at his own expense. With the concurrence of Marshal de Castries, the Minister of Marines, he purchased an estate in the French colony of Cayenne, with a large number of slaves, and commenced, under the superintendence of a competent instrueter, a system of discipline and education, which was to be followed by their gradual emancipation. To this object Lafayette devoted a large sum of money, and with the co-operation of several eminent patriots and philosophers, persevered in his plan, until the French revolution involved every thing in chaos. In 1792, when Lafayette was proscribed by the Terrorists, the National Convention confiscated all his property, and ordered his negroes at Cayenne to be sold, in spite of the remonstrances of Madame Lafayette, who protested against the sale, on the ground that the negroes had been purchased by Lafayette with the sole object of setting them at liberty after their instruction. Lafayette himself felt much anxiety on this subject. In an interesting letter to the Princess d'Henens, from the prison of Magdeburg, he said: "I know not what disposition has been made of my plantation at Cayenne, but I hope that Madame Lafayette will take care that the negroes, who cultivate it, shall preserve their liberty."

It may be interesting to the reader to know, that this experiment of Lafayette had also the approbation of Gen. Washington. In a letter of May 10, 1786, he said: "The

benevolence of your heart, my dear marquis, is so conspicuous upon all occasions, that I never wonder at any fresh proofs of it; but your late purchase of an estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country. But I despair of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the Assembly, at its last session, for the abolition of slavery, but they could scarcely obtain a reading. To set the slaves afloat at once would, I really believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief; but by degrees it certainly might, and assuredly ought to be effected; and that too by legislative authority."

Such were, substantially, the views of Lafayette himself. He would not restore the negroes at once to liberty, any more than he would restore a blind man suddenly to the full blaze of the meridian sun. He was for emancipating the slaves by degrees, in proportion as their moral and intellectual education rendered them capable of appreciating and properly enjoying freedom. Believing the plan practicable, although surrounded with many difficulties, he considered it the duty of the friends of liberty every where, to persevere in endeavouring to effect its accomplishment. Circumstances may have changed. The difficulties attending such an experiment in this country may have increased. But although some may now dissent from the propriety or practicability of Lafayette's views, none will deny the purity of his principles or the philanthropy of his motives.

Lafayette, at the same time, took an active interest in favour of the French Protestants. He was ever the friend of religious toleration.

The same year (1786) Lafayette received a new token of gratitude from the people of Virginia, for the services he had rendered that state, no less honourable to them than complimentary to him. The legislature of Virginia directed two busts of Lafayette to be executed at their expense, by the celebrated sculptor Houdon, one of them to be placed in the Legislative Hall of that state, and the other to be presented in their name to the municipal authorities of Paris. The proffer was made to the municipality by Mr. Jefferson,

then minister plenipotentiary of the United States in France, in the following words :—

“ The Legislature of the state of Virginia, in consideration of the services of Major General the Marquis de Lafayette, has resolved to place his bust in their capitol. This intention of erecting a monument to his virtues, and to the sentiments with which he has inspired them, in the country to which they are indebted for his birth, has induced a hope that the city of Paris would consent to become the depository of a second proof of their gratitude. Charged by the state with the execution of this resolution, I have the honour to solicit the *Prevot des Marchands* and Municipality of Paris to accept the bust of this brave officer, and give it a situation where it may continually awaken the admiration, and witness the respect, of the allies of France.—*Dated 17th September, 1786.*”

This honourable memento was accepted by the municipality, with the sanction of the king. Its reception was attended with ceremonies, publick and imposing, at which a large concourse of people were present. The king’s attorney delivered on the occasion an address, in which he recounted the services of Lafayette in America, and the high estimation in which he was held in both countries. The bust was then placed in one of the publick halls, that of the celebrated Hotel de Ville, of the city of Paris. In that hall, which soon became the theatre of so many important events, it served to enkindle the flame of Liberty, and fell, when that light was extinguished, an unconscious victim to the wrath of anarchy. The reception of this bust, and the publick ceremonials which attended it, had no small influence in quickening the political events which followed ; and constitute, at least in the life of Lafayette, the connecting link between the American and French revolutions.

## CHAPTER XXII.

The French Revolution—Its causes—Preliminary events—Louis XVI—Maurepas—Assembly of Notables—Lafayette a member of it—His propositions for reform—The States General convened—Its character—Lafayette a deputy—Dissentions of the orders—The commons constitute themselves the National Assembly—The king sides with the privileged orders—Doors of the Assembly closed—The members repair to the Tennis Court—Take an oath—Last “bed of justice”—Speech of Mirabeau—Lafayette, with forty liberal nobles, joins the commons—The three orders unite—Lafayette proposes a Declaration of Rights—First insurrection in Paris—Lafayette Vice-President of the Assembly—Destruction of the Bastile—Deputation to the Hotel de Ville—Bailly chosen Mayor of Paris—Lafayette commander of the civick guards—Receives the king in Paris—Organizes the National Guards—Institutes the tri-coloured cockade—His character and influence at this period—Endeavours to preserve tranquillity—Indignant at popular excesses—Threatens to resign—Persuaded to continue in command—Refuses compensation for his services—Feudal privileges abolished—Declaration of rights adopted.

THE causes and events of the French revolution, have been traced by many and able pens. The subject is unexhausted. We shall touch upon it as briefly as possible, inseparably connected as it is with the distinguished individual whose life we are recording. Through a long series of usurpations in France, the power of the king had become absolute. It was unrestrained and undefined by a written constitution or definite laws. The judicial and legislative bodies, exercised their functions by the will or sufferance of the monarch. The crown disposed of persons by *lettres-de-cachet*, or warrants of imprisonment, by which the great prison of the Bastile, and other places of confinement, were from time to time filled with the victims of intolerance, avarice and revenge. It disposed of property by confiscation, and of income by arbitrary taxation. The Parliament of Paris, it is true, had the nominal privilege of consenting to or refusing an impost; but the king, by what was termed “a bed of justice,” a convocation in which he appeared in person and made known his will, under the established max-

im, that in the presence of the king all other authorities were suspended, enforced a registration of the decree, and punished the refractory members by imprisonment or exile.

“France, thus enslaved, (says Mignet) was also most wretchedly organized : the excesses of power were less insupportable than their unequal distribution. Divided into three orders, which were again subdivided into several classes, the nation was abandoned to all the evils of despotism, and all the miseries of inequality. The nobles were divided into courtiers who lived on the favours of the prince, or in other words, on the labours of the people ; and who obtained either the governments of the provinces, or high stations in the army,—upstarts, who directed the administration, and were appointed to lieutenancies, and farmed the provinces ; lawyers, who administered justice, and monopolized its appointments ; and territorial barons, who oppressed the country by the exercise of their private feudal privileges, which had displaced the general political rights. The clergy were divided into two classes, of which one was destined for the bishopricks and abbacies, and their rich revenues ; the others to apostolick labours and to poverty. The commons, borne down by the court, and harassed by the nobles, were themselves separated into corporations, which retaliated upon each other the evils and the oppression which they received from their superiors. They possessed scarcely a third part of the soil, upon which they were compelled to pay feudal services to their lords, tithes to the priests, and imposts to the king. In compensation for so many sacrifices, they enjoyed no rights, had no share in the administration, and were admitted to no publick employments.”

The profligacy and extravagance of the reigns of Louis XIV and XV, had awakened a portion of the French people to the sense of their condition. Men of genius and influence had discussed the subject of publick affairs and the theory of governments, with freedom. When Louis XVI, therefore, succeeded to the throne, (1774,) publick opinion, the most powerful of all sovereigns, had begun to assert its empire. He found the nation discontented, and the pecuniary resources of the crown exhausted. Louis XVI was by no means a natural tyrant. He regarded the interests of his subjects, and would willingly have restored them to many of their rights. But he clung to the prerogatives of the

crown, and vacillated between the love of power and the sense of justice. He might with truth have exclaimed :

“I know the right, and I approve it too;  
I know the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue.”

He was, indeed, incapable of directing himself. His first prime minister, Maurepas, an experienced but selfish man, had, by the selection of ministers from the popular party, encouraged at least the hope of reform. After his death, the queen succeeded him in the favour of the king, and exercised over that weak but amiable monarch, a controlling, and, in the sequel, a fatal influence. Marie Antoinette, young, beautiful, and ambitious, attached to the pleasures and prerogatives of the court, assumed almost the entire direction of affairs. Ministers were appointed in accordance with her views; measures of reform were abandoned; profligacy and licentiousness were restored, and the revolution dates from this period. It was doubtless accelerated by the example of the American revolution, and the spirit of freedom which Lafayette, Rochambeau, Chastellux, the Lameths, and other brave Frenchmen who had served with him in the United States, cherished and diffused on their return to France.

The embarrassed state of the finances called for immediate action. All had been “wrung from the hard hand of industry” that it was capable of yielding. It was necessary to appeal, by force or persuasion, to the privileged orders. The day for forcible exactions had gone by. In this emergency, the minister of finance, Colonne, proposed to convene an assembly, which was called the Assembly of the Notables. It was composed of distinguished members of the nobility, clergy and magistracy, with some of the most celebrated scientifick men and gentry—being, in short, as its name imported, a representation of the aristocratick interests, to the exclusion of those of the people. They were appointed by the king.

Lafayette was a member of this assembly. It convened in February, 1787. It was by no means as tractable as the minister, Colonne, had anticipated; and united with the publick opinion, in requiring and accomplishing his removal. The Assembly consisted of one hundred and thirty-seven members, and was divided, for the purposes of deliberation, into seven sections or bureaux, over each of which presided

a prince of the blood royal. Lafayette was allotted to the division over which Count d'Artois, the younger brother of the king, and since Charles the Tenth, presided. Lafayette took at once a firm stand in favour of such reforms as were demanded by the rights and interest of the people. He proposed, 1. The suppression of *lettres-de-cachet* and all arbitrary imprisonment. 2. The establishment of religious toleration, and the restoration of the Protestants to their civil rights. 3. The convocation of a national assembly, representing the people of France.

The Count d'Artois, president of the committee, was startled at this latter demand. "What!" said he, "do you make a motion for the States-General?" "Yes," replied Lafayette, "and for something more and better." "Then," said the prince, "you desire that I should take in writing, and report to the king, that the motion to convoke the States-General has been made by the Marquis de Lafayette?" "I do," replied Lafayette, and the motion was reported to the king accordingly.

The Assembly of Notables granted little for the relief of the government from its financial embarrassments. After approving the establishment of the provincial assemblies, a regulation in the corn trade, the suppression of *corvees* or feudal services, and a new tax on stamps, it dissolved itself into its original elements. An impulse was given by this assemblage to the assertion of the representative rights of the people. After a severe struggle with the parliament, to compel its registration of financial edicts; its exile, the imprisonment of some of its members, and popular commotions in the provinces, the king was at length compelled by publick opinion, on the 8th of August, 1788, to convoke an assemblage of the *States-General* for the fifth of May, 1789.

The *States-General* was an extraordinary body, which had no regular existence. It was a creation of the royal prerogative, and had been convened on occasions of pressing necessity, as the instrument of the royal will in procuring subsidies. It was composed of the three orders of the nation, the clergy, the nobles, and the *tiers etat* (third estate or common people); in such numbers and proportions as the king, and such of his councils as he chose to consult, should determine. On this occasion, the *States General* were destined to be something more than the mere organs or echoes

of the royal will. The friends of arbitrary power were desirous that the assemblage should be constituted and conducted as it had been in 1614, when it was last convened, and when the third estate or commons, were little more in numbers and in power, than a cipher. The friends of freedom contended for such an organization as should recognize the rights of the people, and that the representatives chosen by the *tiers état*, or commons, should equal in numbers those of the privileged orders, the nobles and clergy, united. "The *tiers état* comprehended the great body of the nation, all the useful, industrious, enlightened classes. Although it owned but a small portion of the land, it wrought the whole ; and was therefore, it was contended, in reason and justice, entitled to a number of deputies equal to that of the two other orders."

The king and court shrunk from the responsibility of deciding this question, according to their convictions of right. A new Assembly of Notables was convened. In this assembly, Lafayette advocated the double, or rather equal, representation of the people ; but the Notables, after a stormy session, decided against it. M. Necker, who had been restored to the station of minister of the finances, (premier, or first minister,) is supposed, under these circumstances, to have influenced that decision, which ought promptly to have been made in the first place. "The court, then, (states M. Thiers) taking, as it said, into consideration the opinion of the minority, the sentiments expressed by several princes of the blood, the wishes of the three orders of Dauphiné, the demand of the provincial assemblies, the example of several countries of the kingdom, the opinion of various publick writers, and the recommendations contained in a great number of addresses—the court ordained that the total number of deputies should be at least a thousand ; that it should be formed in a ratio composed of the population, and the amount of taxes paid by each *baillage*, or district, and that the number of the deputies of the *tiers état* should be equal to that of the other two orders united."

This concession gained, was an important step in the progress of revolution. It was followed promptly, on the meeting of the States General. Each order convened in a separate department, the *tiers état*, as the most numerous, occupying the Hall of the States. A preliminary ques-

tion, was, however, raised, which indicated, and finally led to, the merging of the three orders. The popular deputies insisted, that the nobles and clergy should meet them in their hall, for the purpose of examining and verifying the credentials. They justly contended, that although the orders should afterwards deliberate separately, as they had assembled as the representatives of the nation for common objects, each order, and each member, had a right to examine the powers of the others, and therefore the verification should be in common. The privileged deputies, on the other hand, contended, that the orders having a distinct existence, the verification should be separate and distinct. They could not bear the thought, that the representatives of the common people should even for a moment "come between the wind and their nobility." Their pertinacity in thus adhering to a non-essential point, hastened the final overthrow of their pretended privileges.

Lafayette, as a deputy of the order of nobles, advocated the verification in common. From the 5th to the 27th of May, a majority of the two privileged orders obstinately resisted all appeals. The deputies of the commons, acting with firmness and discretion, after sending a last invitation to the clergy, a large proportion of whom were disposed to meet them, and after a vain effort of the king to bring about a compromise, resolved to proceed to a verification and to business, whether the *deputies of the other orders were present or absent.*

This energetick measure was soon followed by one of a still more decisive character. The commons, on the 17th of June, constituted themselves a legislative body, under the title of the *National Assembly*. They expressed hopes, and renewed the invitation, that the absent deputies would join them, not merely for a verification of their powers, but, "to share with them," they said, "the series of important labours which were to accomplish the regeneration of France." The clergy, by a vote of 149 to 115, resolved to join the commons.

The court and the privileged orders were alarmed at these energetick measures. The king, influenced by their entreaties to counteracting efforts, contrary to the advice of Necker, determined to meet the new assembly in royal sitting on the 22d of June. On repairing to the hall of the

States, on the morning of the 20th, the deputies found the doors closed, and surrounded by armed soldiery, by whom they were refused admittance. An order of the king adjourned the sitting to the 22d. Bailly, the faithful President of the Assembly, conceiving it his duty to obey that body, repaired with the deputies to the Tennis Court.—There, amidst dark and bare walls, without seats, the President and members standing, surrounded by the populace, the Assembly resumed its deliberations. Amidst the cries of *Vive l'Assemblee! Vive le Roy!* from within and without the building, the following oath was adopted, and signed by all except one of the deputies: “ You take a solemn oath, never to separate, and to assemble whenever circumstances shall require, till the constitution of the kingdom is established and founded on a solid basis.”

This fearless and patriotick course of the Assembly, with the strong indications of popular feeling, were additional sources of irritation and alarm to the nobles. They repaired next day in a body to the king, again to solicit his interposition. But the power of prerogative was already paralyzed! Lafayette, with a noble minority of forty-seven members, composed of some of the most distinguished men of that period, opposed these humiliating proceedings. They were for yielding promptly, to the just requisitions of popular rights and the publick opinion. But their warnings were unheeded. Intrigue and dissimulation, not unmixed with fear, controlled the proceedings of the king and court. The royal sitting was postponed to the 23d. In the mean time efforts were made to prevent the meeting of the Assembly on the 22d. The Tennis Court was hired by the princes, under the pretext of playing on that day. The Assembly repaired to a church, where, amidst manifestations of popular enthusiasm, they were joined by a majority of the clerical deputies.

The next day, the hall of the States, surrounded by a numerous guard, was opened to the deputies, but closed to the populace. The deputies of the commons, of the rightful Assembly, were kept, however, some time in waiting, before they could gain admittance. When they entered, they found their seats occupied by the privileged orders.—The king appeared, to spread for the last time the “ bed of justice,” surrounded by all the parade of power. He was

received by the deputies with profound silence. He condemned the proceedings of the Assembly, which he recognized only as the order of the commons ; enjoined the separation into orders, the maintenance of feudal rights, interposed the royal power to the popular will, and concluded his address by ordering the Assembly to separate immediately. The King withdrew, followed by the nobles and a portion of the clergy. The deputies of the people kept their seats. Silence was at length broken by Mirabeau, the master-spirit of the popular assemblies. "Gentlemen, (he said,) I admit that what you have heard might be for the good of the country, were not the presents of despotism always dangerous. What means this insulting dictation ? the display of arms, the violation of the national temple, in order to command you to be happy ? Who is it that utters this command ? he who acts by your commission ! Who gives you imperious laws ? he who acts by your commission !—he who ought to receive them from you, from us, gentlemen, who are invested with a political and inviolable priesthood ; from us, from whom twenty-five millions of people expect certain happiness, because it ought to be consented to, given and received by all. But the freedom of your deliberations is chained down ; a military force environs the Assembly ! Where are the enemies of the nation ? Is Catiline at our gates ? I demand that, clothing yourselves in your dignity and your legislative authority, you remain firm in the sacredness of your oath ; it does not permit us to separate till we have framed the constitution." The grand master of the ceremonies, (says Mignet,) seeing that the Assembly did not separate, was about to remind it of the order of the king. "Go," exclaimed Mirabeau, "tell your master that we are here by the order of the people, and that we shall depart only at the point of the bayonet." "You are to-day," added Siéyes, with calmness, "what you were yesterday ; let us deliberate !" and the Assembly, full of resolution and majesty, proceeded to its deliberations. Upon the motion of Camus, it persisted in all its decrees ; and upon that of Mirabeau, it decreed the inviolability of its members.

At the next sitting, the majority of the clerical deputies resumed their seats. Lafayette, with the forty-seven liberal nobles, after endeavouring in vain to induce their obsti-

nate associates to yield, also joined with the commons. Strong indications of the popular will, from the provinces and in Paris, however, soon induced the remainder of the nobles and clergy to yield, and on the 27th of June, the three orders had become united in one general Assembly, representing the whole nation.

But, through the influence of rash advisers, the king prepared to control the Assembly, or to subdue it and the people by force. While the Assembly pursued its deliberations, troops were arraying in great numbers. Versailles presented the appearance of a camp ; the hall of the States was surrounded by guards, and entrance prohibited to the citizens. Mercenary troops, and trains of artillery from abroad, were posted around Paris. These hostile preparations agitated the people, and disturbances were already commenced. The Assembly, on the motion of Mirabeau, seconded by Lafayette, adopted an address to the king, requiring the withdrawal of the troops, but without effect. On the 11th of July, the Assembly still surrounded and menaced by the troops, Lafayette proposed the following declaration of rights :

“ Nature has made men free and equal. The distinctions necessary for social order, are only founded on general utility.

“ Every man is born with rights inalienable and imprescriptible ; such are the liberty of his opinions, the care of his honour and his life, the right of property, the uncontrolled disposal of his person, his industry and all his faculties ; the communication of all his thoughts by all possible means ; the pursuit of happiness and the resistance of oppression.

“ The exercise of natural rights has no limits, but such as will ensure their enjoyment to other members of society.

“ No man can be subject to any laws, excepting those which have received the assent of himself or his representatives, and which are promulgated beforehand and applied legally.

“ The principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation. Nobody, no individual can possess authority, which does not expressly emanate from it.

“ Government has for its sole object, the general welfare. This interest requires that the legislative, executive and judicial powers, should be distinct and defined, and that their

organization should secure the free representation of the citizens, the responsibility of the agents, and the impartiality of the judges.

“The laws ought to be clear, precise and uniform for all citizens.

“The subsidies ought to be freely consented to, and fairly imposed.

“And as the introduction of abuses and the right of succeeding generations make the revision of every human establishment necessary, it must be allowed to the nation to have, in certain cases, an extraordinary convocation of deputies, whose sole object should be the examination and correction, if necessary, of the vices of the constitution.”

This comprehensive declaration of the rights of man, the first that was ever published in Europe, was the foundation of that afterwards adopted by the constituent assembly. It was seconded by Lally Tolendal, with the remark, that “All the principles contained therein are the sacred emanations of truth; all the sentiments are noble and sublime. The author of the motion now displays as much eloquence in speaking of liberty, as he has already shown courage to defend it.”

In pursuance of the hostile policy of the court, M. Necker, the popular minister, was dismissed by the king, with orders immediately to leave the kingdom in secret. As soon as his dismissal was known, the people of Paris, already highly excited, broke out into actual and fearful insurrection. After another unsuccessful effort to induce the king to withdraw the troops, and to adopt other measures for the publick tranquillity, the Assembly passed several energetick decrees, among which was one, on the motion of Lafayette, declaring the responsibility of the king’s ministers and advisers, of whatever rank or state; and, fearing they might be again excluded by an armed force from their hall, the Assembly declared their session permanent. Lafayette was chosen Vice-President, and held the sitting during the night.

For two days and nights, (July 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>,) during the progress of insurrection at Paris, and the threatened attack by the mercenary troops of the court, Lafayette and his patriotick associates of the Assembly, amidst conflicting rumours and anxious forebodings, firmly continued their

session, deliberating upon the proposed constitution. News at length came, that the people were victorious. The Bastile, that gloomy and infamous prison-house, that ancient fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable, had fallen before them. De Launey, commandant of the Bastile, was beheaded. Flesselles, the provost (corresponding to the office of mayor) of Paris, who had deceived the people, also fell a victim to their fury. The eyes of the king, hitherto blinded by the misrepresentations of his counsellors, were opened to the true state of publick feeling, and to his own danger. On the morning of the 15th, the Assembly were about to send a fifth deputation to the king, when he made his appearance, without an escort, accompanied only by his two brothers. He spoke kindly, recognising the Assembly for the first time, as the National Assembly. He declared himself one of the nation, and that, relying upon the affection and fidelity of his subjects, he had given orders for the troops to retire from Paris and Versailles. "You have been afraid of me," said he: "now, for my part, I put my trust in you." These words were hailed with applause. The members rose spontaneously, and escorted the monarch on foot to his palace. The king had also promised to restore Necker, and to proceed next day in person to Paris, to conciliate the people.

A deputation of one hundred members, among whom were Lafayette and Bailly, was appointed by the Assembly to repair to Paris, and announce the happy turn of affairs. The municipality of Paris, constituted by the electors for the emergency, was assembled at the Hotel de Ville, surrounded by multitudes of the populace. The deputation, on announcing its object, was received with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. Bailly was appointed, amidst loud acclamations, successor to Flesselles, with the title of Mayor of Paris. There was yet to be appointed a commander of the civick guards, or national militia, the formation of which had been directed. There was, in the Hotel de Ville, a trophy from independent America, the bust presented by the State of Virginia to the city of Paris. An elector (Moreau de St. Mery) pointed to it with his finger. All eyes were fixed upon it. It was the bust of Lafayette. With unanimous shouts of applause he was proclaimed commander.

The next day, at the head of the civick guards, Lafayette

received the king in Paris. The guards, near two hundred thousand in number, were arrayed in double lines, and armed with muskets, pikes, lances, scythes and staves. The king passed through these lines and entered the Hotel de Ville, under an arch of swords crossed over his head, as a mark of honour. Quiet was restored to the capital, and apparent confidence re-established between the king and the people. The anti-revolutionary ministers, the rash advisers of the project which had failed, quitted the court. The Count d'Artois, the Princes of Conde and Condi, the Polignac family, and some others, hastily left the kingdom ; and thus commenced the emigration of the aristocracy, which soon became so numerous, and instigated in foreign countries hostilities against France.

Lafayette, with the authority of the king and the municipality, re-organized the civick militia, incorporating into it the French guards, who were devoted to the revolution. This was attended with much difficulty, as the French guards were tenacious of retaining their distinctive organization, and was only accomplished by the firmness and conciliatory spirit of Lafayette. He borrowed of the bankers, on his own responsibility, as he had done for similar purposes in America, 1,200,000 francs, which were distributed among the French guards on their dissolution. Upon the body of troops thus formed, and who are so celebrated in the history of French revolutions, Lafayette bestowed the title of the National Guards. A uniform was adopted, and a cockade, in which the blue and red, the colours of the city, were united with the white, the colour of the king. This was the famous tri-coloured cockade, of which Lafayette, in announcing its adoption and the formation of the National Guards, to the Assembly, said : "Gentlemen, I bring you a cockade which shall make the tour of the world ; and an institution, at once civick and military, which shall change the system of European tactics, and reduce all absolute governments to the alternative of being beaten, if they do not imitate it, or of being overthrown if they dare to imitate it." By the influence of Lafayette, a National Guard was organized on the same principles as that of Paris, throughout the kingdom ; but he refused the special commands, which were pressed upon him by deputations and addresses from all quarters.

A French writer (Toulonjeon) thus speaks of Lafayette at this period. "Lafayette, whose name and whose reputation, acquired in America, were associated with liberty itself, Lafayette was at the head of the Parisian National Guard. He enjoyed at once that entire confidence and publick esteem which are due to great qualities. The faculty of raising the spirits, or rather of infusing fresh courage into the heart, was natural to him. His external appearance was youthful and bold, which is always pleasing to the multitude. His manners were simple, popular and engaging. He possessed every thing which is wanting to commence, and terminate, a revolution—the brilliant qualities of military activity, and the calm confidence of courage in times of publick commotion. Lafayette was equal to every thing, if every thing had been done fairly and openly ; but he was unacquainted with the dark and narrow road of intrigue."

At the head of the National Guards, Lafayette endeavoured to preserve the publick tranquillity, to prevent bloodshed, and to secure the execution and observance of the laws passed by the Assembly. No man could, in those terrible times, have exerted the same influence. Many victims were saved by him from the popular fury. Agitation continued in Paris, and spread throughout the kingdom. Foulon, who as an intendant, had committed enormous extortions, and spoken contemptuously of the people, in spite of the efforts of Lafayette to save him, was beheaded, and his head stuck upon a pole and paraded through Paris. His son-in-law, Berthier, fell by the hands of the same lawless multitude. Lafayette, full of grief and indignation at these events, avowed his intention of resigning. The mayor and municipality, anxiously solicited him to forego that intention. The militia and the people thronged around him, and promised the utmost obedience in future. On these conditions he resumed the command, and by his own energy and that of the troops, prevented many excesses. He refused, as he had done in America, all compensation for his services, or indemnity for the expenses which his office had imposed upon him. To the municipality of Paris, on this point, he replied (Sept. 30, 1790,) "My private fortune secures me from want; it has outlasted two revolutions; and should it survive a third, through the complaisance of the people, it shall belong to them alone."

In the mean time, the Assembly continued to deliberate upon the Declaration of Rights, proposed by Lafayette, and upon kindred measures, which had his sanction. On the night of the 4th of August, by a common impulse of devotion to liberty, the deputies resolved upon the abolition of all feudal rights and privileges, and of the long list of abuses of which the people justly complained. Lafayette warmly supported these measures and insisted that the constitutional equality among citizens should be immediately established. "This night, (says Mignet) which an enemy of the revolution called at the time the Saint-Barthélémy of property, was only the Saint-Barthélémy of abuses. It cleared away the rubbish of the feudal system; it delivered the person from the remains of ancient servitude; lands from seignorial dependence; soccage properties from the ravages of those who claimed the right of game, and from the exaction of tithes. In destroying seignorial jurisdictions, the remnants of private power, it led to the reign of publick power, in destroying the venality of the offices of the magistracy, it promised unbribed justice. It was the passage from a condition in which every thing belonged to individuals, to another, in which every thing was to belong to the state. This night changed the aspect of the realm; it rendered all Frenchmen equal; it opened the way for all to arrive at publick employments; to aspire after property; to exercise industry; finally, this night was a revolution as important as the insurrection of the 14th of July, of which it was the consequence. It rendered the people the masters of society, as the other had rendered them the masters of the government; and permitted them to build up the new constitution by destroying the old."

A medal was struck to preserve the memory of this day; the Assembly decreed to Louis XVI, the title of *Restorer of French Liberty*, and ordered that a solemn Te Deum should be performed on the occasion. The king accepted the title and was present at the Te Deum. The Declaration of Rights was soon after completed, and adopted by the Assembly.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Intrigues and duplicity of the queen and court—Projected removal of the king—Mad military banquet at Versailles—Fearful insurrection of the 6th of October—Mob of women assail the palace—Lafayette resists the popular fury—Repairs to Versailles—Defends the palace—Saves the lives of the royal family—Reconciles the king and queen to the populace—The royal family remove to Paris—Guarded by Lafayette—New projects of agitation and flight—Counteracted by Lafayette—Transmits to Gen. Washington a drawing and key of the Bastile—Volunteer oath of the King to sustain the constitution—Abolition of titles—Death of Franklin—Eulogium of Mirabeau—Motion of Lafayette—Anniversary of the 14th July—Federation of the Champ-de-Mars—Lafayette the champion of the day—The oath—Grand review of the National Guards—Monitory address of Lafayette—Reply of the deputies.

THE sanction of the king to the decrees of the 4th of August, was reluctantly given ; while he withheld his assent from the Declaration of Rights proposed by Lafayette and adopted by the Assembly. With blind fatality, and guilty obstinacy, the queen and nobles of the court, endeavoured by secret plots and intrigues to prevent the adoption of the free institutions and laws which were demanded by the intelligence and circumstances of the times. They sought to promote anarchy, rather than to establish order, as most congenial to their designs. The king, unfortunately for himself and the nation, yielded himself to these pernicious influences, and became a victim to the intrigue and duplicity by which he was surrounded.

The first effort of the counter-plotters of the court, was a plan for the removal of the king from the influence of the Assembly and of Paris. He was to withdraw with the court to Metz, where, amidst the army and the nobles, aided by mercenary troops and foreign powers, the Assembly and the people of Paris were to be declared rebels, and the ancient absolute government re-established. To ensure the success of this plan, under the pretext of guarding against popular commotion, the Flanders regiment and other troops were brought to Versailles, and the guards of the palace

were doubled. This military display excited suspicions among the people, and rumour soon suggested the intended flight of the king. The popular party was desirous of securing his person, and already expressed a wish for his removal to Paris. The crisis was accelerated by a banquet given at Versailles, by the king's guards to the officers of the Flanders regiment, on the 1st of October. At this festival, held in the grand saloon of the theatre of the palace, which had been hitherto devoted to the most solemn festivals of the court, the most extravagant expressions and acts of loyalty were indulged. In the midst of the riotous hilarity, the king entered the banquet hall, in a hunting dress, followed by the queen, with the dauphin in her arms.— Their healths were drank by the guests with naked swords in hand, and when they were retiring, the band struck up the air, *O Richard, O mon roi, l'univers t'abandonne !* The charge was sounded, and the guests scaled the boxes, as though advancing to an assault. Cockades, of a single colour, white or black, were distributed, and the tri-coloured cockade, that of the nation, it was said and believed at the time, was trodden under foot ; and the troops repaired to the galleries of the palace, where the ladies of the court overwhelmed them with congratulations and decorated them with ribands and cockades.

This mad banquet was renewed on the 3d of October. A portion of the company, as on the former occasion, presented themselves before the queen, who, among other expressions, declared to them, that she was "*enchanted by the pleasures of Thursday.*"

These proceedings clearly indicated the designs of the court ; and with the refusal of the king to sanction the declaration of rights, together with the sufferings of the people from the scarcity of food, wrought up the populace of Paris to a state of the greatest phrensy. It was in vain that Lafayette and the civil magistrates endeavoured to allay the excitement. In the excesses of the French revolution the females of the lower classes acted a conspicuous part. Indeed, from the queen, who was at the head of the court, or counter-revolution party, through every grade of parties and factions, females exercised a formidable political influence. On the 5th of October, a crowd of furious women assembled in Paris. They broke into the Hotel de Ville,

crying, “bread! bread!” rung the great bell, the tocsin of alarm, and the whole populace were soon in motion.— Armed with bludgeons, broomsticks, muskets and cutlasses, most of those furious women, headed by a citizen named Maillard, who had signalized himself at the capture of the Bastile, marched to Versailles; entered the hall of the Assembly, and by a numerous committee, penetrated the palace, to the presence of the king himself. They were followed by others, men and women, and the mob which surrounded the palace were fired upon by the guards; two of the guards were killed, and several on both sides wounded.

For eight hours Lafayette resisted the desires of the national militia, to go with the populace to Versailles. “General,” said one of them to him, “you do not deceive us, but you deceive yourself. Instead of turning our arms against women, let us go to Versailles to fetch the king, and make sure of his good disposition by placing him in the midst of us.” He detained them until their passions had cooled, and by order of the commune at length set out. He halted his army by the way, exhorted them to the preservation of order, and made them swear to be faithful to the king. Arriving at Versailles about midnight, he repaired in person to the palace, and assured the king and royal family of his disposition, and that of his army, to protect them from violence. Lafayette was refused the guard of the palace, which was assigned to the Flander’s regiment, the Swiss, and life-guards. The outposts alone were intrusted to him. The king retired to rest. The mob became quiet; and after being up, and vigilantly employed all night, Lafayette, at five in the morning, took some refreshment, and threw himself upon a bed to obtain some rest. The people about this time began to stir, and thronged to the palace; where, a quarrel occurring, one of the life-guards fired from the windows. Enraged, the crowd rushed upon the palace; found a gate open in rear, and ascending by a staircase, penetrated even to the apartment of the queen, who scarcely had time to escape to the king’s apartments. A portion of Lafayette’s guards, stationed near the palace, hastened to disperse the mob, and to aid the life-guards, who were contending at the doors of the palace.

Lafayette, who had not fallen asleep, hearing the tumult, mounted the first horse he met with, and galloped into the

midst of the fray, where he found several of the life-guards about to be slaughtered. Lafayette proceeded to rescue them, and ordered his troops to hasten to the palace. Left alone in the midst of the brigands, one of them took aim at him. With a peremptory voice, Lafayette ordered the man to be brought to him. Struck with awe and respect, the mob hastened to obey, seized the culprit, and dashed out his brains upon the pavement. After saving the life-guards, Lafayette hastened to the palace. His troops, who were already there, surrounded him, and pledged themselves to die for the king. "At this moment, (says Thiers), the life-guards, who had been saved from destruction, shouted "*Lafayette for ever!*!" The whole court, seeing themselves preserved by him and his troops, acknowledged that to him they were indebted for their lives. These testimonies of gratitude were universal. Madame Adelaide, the king's aunt, ran up to him, and clasped him in her arms, saying, 'General, you have saved us.'

The mob which surrounded the palace, now cried out, "To Paris! To Paris!" It was at length decided in a council, where Lafayette refused to be present, that the king and court should comply with the wish of the people. This decision was announced by slips of paper, thrown among the crowd. The king, accompanied by Lafayette, then showed himself upon the balcony, and was greeted with shouts of "*Long live the king!*!" But the queen, endeavouring to appear, with some of her children, was received with threatening language, and cries of "no babies!" She had declared to Lafayette her courageous intention of accompanying the king to Paris. The general led her to the balcony, and by a delicate sign, it being impossible that his voice should be heard in the tumult, bespoke for her the conciliation of the mob: he stepped forward, took the hand of the queen, and kissed it respectfully. The mob responded to the token, and confirmed the reconciliation by shouts of "*Long live the queen!*!" "*Long live Lafayette!*"

The king and royal family set off for Paris, escorted by Lafayette and his guards, preceded and followed by portions of the fearful and triumphant mob. A band of the brigands were parading the heads of the two life guards they had killed, on the point of their pikes. Lafayette disarmed them, and took from them these horrible trophies. The

king and his family repaired first to the Hotel de Ville, where they were received by M. Bailly, the mayor. "I return with confidence," said the king, "into the midst of my people in Paris." In repeating these words to those who could not hear the king, Bailly forgot the word *confidence*. "Add *with confidence*," said the queen. "You are happier," replied Bailly, "than if I had said it myself." Thus ended the memorable 6th of October, in the events of which Lafayette bore so important a part.

The royal family took up its residence at the palace of the Tuilleries, which had been uninhabited for a century. During that period, the royal residence and the court had been at Versailles, about fourteen miles from Paris. There, millions and millions had been lavished in costly buildings, and the decorations and improvements of a position which possessed but few natural advantages. There was the seat of despotism and intrigue; and there, the utmost luxury and extravagance continued to be indulged, while the people were threatened with starvation. By the events of the 5th and 6th of October, the king, the court, and the Assembly, were restored to Paris.

The guard of the palace was confided to the corps of which Lafayette was commander, and he was thus made responsible to the nation for the person of the king. He also took, by the direction of the king, the command of the environs of Paris for twenty miles round, and adopted prompt and efficient measures to insure order and security. The king, the queen, and the court, by an impulse of justice, acknowledged their obligations to him for their lives; and, enjoying the confidence of the friends of rational liberty, his popularity was immense. He did not escape the jealousy and the calumnies of Mirabeau and others, who had personal objects to accomplish; and to these were added the reproaches of the aristocracy. In spite of these, he persevered faithfully in his duties. The Duke of Orleans, brother to the king, who had espoused the revolution, as was generally believed, from ambitious motives, was the cause of distrust and threatened disturbance. Lafayette insisted upon, and induced, his withdrawal from the kingdom. In a tumult occasioned by the scarcity of food, a baker had been killed. Lafayette succeeded in arresting the culprits, and delivering them over to justice. A tribunal had been

constituted, styled the Châtelet, for trying offences relative to the revolution. Through the influence of Lafayette, important reforms were introduced in the mode of its proceedings. The trials were publick, the accused were confronted with the witnesses, were allowed advocates, &c. He had laboured for the establishment of the trial by jury, which was afterwards adopted.

The Assembly continued its labours, in finishing the measures of reform, and completing the constitution. In the mean time, factions were springing up, in and around it. The emigrant nobles abroad, the aristocracy and members of the court, were busied in promoting excesses, and furnishing pretexts and opportunities for counter-revolution. It was their policy to represent the king as a prisoner, that his concessions to the popular cause might the more readily be disavowed. The queen had complained to Lafayette that the king was not free, and assigned as a proof, that the palace duty was performed by the national guards, and not by the life-guards. Lafayette immediately proposed the restoration of the life-guards, offering to share with them the duty of the palace. This was declined by the king, under the pretext that it would expose the life-guards to the risk of being murdered. Lafayette occasioned some embarrassment to the queen, who brought this excuse, by stating to her that he had just seen one of them walking in uniform, in the Palace Royal.

In the beginning of 1790, strong indications appeared of a general agitation, not only in Paris, but throughout the kingdom. The great body of the clergy, having been deprived by the late acts of the Assembly, of their immense property and privileges, united with the court and the nobility, to prevent the execution of the measures of reform. An attempt was made to seduce or disorganize the army, and some of the national guards, who were under pay, assembled tumultuously in the Champ-de-Mars, and demanded an increase of pay. Lafayette, active and present at all points of danger, hastened to the spot, dispersed and punished the refractory soldiers, and restored order among the troops who continued faithful. A design, to carry off the king, and, as was alleged, to assassinate Bailly and Lafayette, was discovered. The king was to be conveyed to Péronne, placed at the head of an army of Swiss and Piedmontese

and thence march upon Paris. The Marquis of Favras, who was to conduct this enterprise, was arrested, and handed over to the tribunal for trial. The populace was highly excited against him, and the court, of which he was supposed to be the agent. Lafayette interfered to ensure him a fair and impartial trial, which Favras gratefully acknowledged. He was condemned and executed.

Foreign powers, instigated by the French emigrants, and the natural fears of the influence of freedom, began secretly to interfere with the internal affairs of France. Lafayette denounced in the National Assembly this interference. He also condemned the riots and outrages which took place in the provinces, by whomsoever instigated, and proposed vigorous measures against the rioters. "Under despotism, (said he,) the most sacred of duties is insurrection; under a free government, obedience to the laws."

Lafayette was desirous of establishing for France, that rational liberty which had been secured for America. He saw the difficulties which threatened, but did not as yet despair. With a letter to Gen. Washington, March 17, 1790, in which he stated some of these difficulties, what had been accomplished, and what was hoped for, Lafayette transmitted the key and a drawing of the Bastile. "Give me leave (he said) my dear general, to present you with a picture of the Bastile, a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with a main key of the fortress of despotism. It is a tribute which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aid-de-camp to my general, as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch."

Gen. Washington acknowledged the receipt of these trophies, Aug. 21, 1790. "I have received (he said) your affectionate letter of the 17th of March, by one conveyance, and the token of the victory gained by liberty over despotism, by another; for both which testimonials of your friendship and regard I pray you accept my sincere thanks. In this great subject of triumph for the new world, and for humanity in general, it will never be forgotten how conspicuous a part you bore, and how much lustre you reflect on a country in which you made the first displays of your character."

On the 4th of February, (1790,) the king appeared unexpectedly in the hall of the Assembly. He pledged himself to support the new order of things and to defend the con-

stitution, which the Assembly had completed and adopted. This voluntary pledge of the king, gave rise to the adoption of a civick oath, by which the deputies, and each of the authorities throughout the kingdom, swore "*to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king, and to uphold with all his power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the king.*" It was also determined to observe the approaching 14th of July, the anniversary of the insurrection of the people, and the fall of the Bastile, and of the nation's deliverance, with suitable and imposing solemnities. A confederation of the whole realm was to take place in the Champ-de-Mars at Paris, and there, in the open air, deputies from the eighty-three departments, the deputies of the Assembly, of the national guards at Paris, and throughout France, and the king in person, were to take the oath to the constitution.

In the mean time, as preliminary to this patriotick festival, all that remained of empty privilege was abolished by decrees of the Assembly—all the hereditary titles of count, marquis, baron ; armorial bearings, liveries, orders of chivalry. Lafayette had been the first to renounce these empty titles, as well as the privileges which were attached to them, although he was willing that any one who chose should retain the titles themselves. He was for the substance, while others pursued the shadow.

At this eventful period, on the 11th of June, the death of Doctor Franklin was made known in France. The next morning, on the convening of the Assembly, Lafayette requested Mirabeau to preface a motion which he suggested, by some appropriate remarks. Mirabeau rose, and announced the event in a brief speech, of the most thrilling eloquence. This celebrated address, entirely unpremeditated, cannot be too often repeated in America. It was as follows :—

“FRANKLIN IS DEAD!”

[A profound silence reigned throughout the hall.]

“The genius, which gave freedom to America, and scattered torrents of light upon Europe, is returned to the bosom of the Divinity!

“The sage, whom two worlds claim ; the man, disputed by the history of the sciences and the history of empires, holds, most undoubtedly, an elevated rank among the human species.

“Political cabinets have but too long notified the death of those

who were never great but in their funeral orations; the etiquette of courts has but too long sanctioned hypocritical grief.—Nations ought only to mourn for their benefactors; the representatives of free men ought never to recommend any other than the heroes of humanity to their homage.

“The Congress hath ordered a general mourning for one month throughout the fourteen confederated states, on account of the death of Franklin; and America hath thus acquitted her tribute of admiration in behalf of one of the fathers of her constitution.

“Would it not be worthy of you, fellow-legislators, to unite yourselves in this religious act, to partake in this homage rendered in the face of the universe to the rights of man, and to the philosopher who has so eminently propagated the conquest of them throughout the world?

“Antiquity would have elevated altars to that mortal, who for the advantage of the human race, embracing both heaven and earth in his vast and extensive mind, knew how to subdue thunder and tyranny?

“Enlightened and free, Europe at least owes its remembrance and its regret to one of the greatest men who has ever served the cause of philosophy and of liberty.

“I propose, that a decree do now pass, enacting, that the National Assembly shall wear mourning during three days for Benjamin Franklin.”

Lafayette and Rochefoucault, simultaneously rose to second the motion. The decree passed, and the President was directed to write a letter of condolence on the occasion to the American Congress. This letter, dated June 20, 1790, contained the following paragraph: “May the Congress of the United States and the National Assembly of France be the first to furnish this fine spectacle [mutual liberty and amity,] to the world! And may the individuals of the two nations connect themselves by a mutual affection, worthy of the friendship which unites the two men, at this day most illustrious by their exertions for liberty, WASHINGTON and LAFAYETTE.”

Such was the estimation in which Lafayette was then held in France. Happy would it have been for the nation, had it continued to appreciate his worth, and to be governed by his examples and his counsels!

A rumour prevailed, that Lafayette was about to be appointed commandant of all the national guards of the kingdom. The court, unfriendly to, or distrustful of, Lafayette, pretended to be alarmed at this increase of his power. But, Lafayette was as disinterested as he was popular. He had no design of accepting a station which he had before and

frequently refused. His ambition was of a more pure and noble character, than to aim at the possession or exercise of military despotism ; although in his hands the command in question would have been unattended with either. To prevent all pretext of alarm or reproach, Lafayette at once proposed, that the same person should not command more than the guard of one department. The motion was carried by acclamations, and the disinterestedness of the general warmly applauded. Lafayette, however, was charged with the whole arrangements of the festival, and was appointed for that occasion Chief of the Federation, or Generalissimo, in his quality of commandant of the Parisian guards.

The Champ-de-Mars, where the ceremonies were to take place, is a spacious area, on the left bank of the Seine, at the south-west extremity of the city. It was about half a mile in length and a quarter of a mile in breadth, slightly circling towards the river. The earth was to be removed from the centre to the sides, so as to form an amphitheatre, capable of containing an immense mass of spectators. In addition to twelve thousand labourers who had been employed for weeks, the entire population of Paris volunteered to further the preparations. Females of the first families mingled in the labours, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed.

The 14th of July arrived. All the federal deputies of the provinces and the army, ranged under their chiefs and their banners, set out from the place of the Bastile. The procession passed through the principal streets of Paris, receiving on their way the municipalities and the Assembly, and greeted with enthusiasm by the people, to the Champ-de-Mars. Lafayette, mounted on a superb white horse, and surrounded by his aids-de-camp, gave orders and conducted this immense procession, amidst the applause of the people. A French author (M. Ferrières) states the following incident. "The perspiration trickled from his face. A man, whom nobody knew, pushed through the crowd, and advanced, holding a bottle in one hand, and a glass in the other. 'General,' said he, 'you are hot, take a glass.'—Raising his bottle, he filled a large glass and handed it to M. de Lafayette. The general took the glass, eyed the stranger for a moment, and drank off the wine at a draught. The people applauded. Lafayette, with a smile of complai-





LAFAYETTE TAKING THE CIVICK OATH TO THE FRENCH FEDERATION,  
JULY 14, 1790.

sance, cast a benevolent and smiling look upon the multitude, and that look seemed to say, 'I shall never conceive any suspicion, I shall never feel any uneasiness, so long as I am in the midst of you.'

The whole extent of the Champ-de-Mars was surrounded by steps of green turf, rising one above another, occupied by four hundred thousand spectators. Within this circle, upon appropriate elevations, decorated with flowers, were the king, the national authorities, the ministers and deputies. In the rear of the king was an elevated balcony, occupied by the queen and the court. Sixty thousand federalists performed their evolutions in the intermediate space; and in the centre, upon a base twenty feet high, was elevated the altar of the country. Three hundred priests, with white surplices and tri-coloured scarfs, were arranged at the four corners of the altar, at which the celebrated Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun, in his pontifical robes, celebrated mass, amidst vocal and instrumental musick, and the peals of cannon.

To this imposing ceremony, succeeded profound silence throughout the vast enclosure. Lafayette, dismounting from his horse, advanced as the first to take the civick oath. "He was carried (says Mignet) in the arms of grenadiers, to the altar of the country, in the midst of the acclamations of the people. He then, in an elevated voice, in his own name, in the name of the troops, and of the federates, spoke as follows: 'We swear to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king; and to maintain with all our power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the king; and to remain united to all Frenchmen, by the indissoluble ties of fraternity.' Discharges of artillery, shouts of '*Long live the nation!*' '*Long live the king!*' the clashing of arms, the sounds of musick, instantly mingled in one unanimous and prolonged cadence. The President of the Assembly took the same oath, and all the deputies repeated it at the same time. Louis XVI then rising, 'I,' said he, 'the King of France, swear to employ all the powers delegated to me by the constitutional act of the state, to maintain the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by me.' The queen being then led forward, and raising the Dauphin in her arms, and showing him to the people, said,

‘Here is my son ; he unites with me in the same sentiments.’ At the same instant the banners were lowered, the acclamations of the people were heard in one loud and prolonged shout. Subjects believed in the sincerity of the monarch, and the monarch in the attachment of his subjects ; and this happy day was terminated by a solemn chant of thanksgiving.”

The next day Lafayette reviewed the national guards of the departments who were present, and a part of the army of the line. The king and queen attended. Sixty thousand men were under arms, and presented a magnificent and imposing spectacle, at once military and national. The enthusiasm manifested on that occasion, and the previous day, indicated that the wish that the command of the whole national guards of the kingdom should be conferred on Lafayette, had not been abandoned. This induced Lafayette, in his address to the confederates, to use the following admonitory language : “Let not ambition take possession of you : love the friends of the people ; but reserve blind submission for the law, and enthusiasm for liberty. Pardon this advice, gentlemen : you have given me the glorious right to offer it, when, by loading me with every species of favour which one of your brothers could receive from you, my heart, amidst its delightful emotions, cannot repress a feeling of fear.” On taking leave of Lafayette, the deputations, who had come with the design of conferring upon him the chief command, spoke as follows : “The deputations of the national guards of France retire, with the regret of not being able to nominate you their chief. They respect the constitutional law, though it checks at this moment the impulse of their hearts. A circumstance which must cover you with immortal glory, is, that you yourself promoted that law ; that you yourself prescribed bounds to our gratitude.”

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Empty pageant and professions—The factions—Lafayette endeavours to reconcile them—Counter disturbances—Lafayette suppresses them—His true position—Death of Mirabeau—Danger and duplicity of the king—Royal family escape—Lafayette blamed by the populace—Vindication—Is offered and rejects the vacant throne—The king arrested at Varennes and brought back to Paris—Lafayette receives and protects the royal family—The king suspended—Lafayette responsible for his safe custody—The Jacobins demand a republick—Mob in the Champ-de-Mars—Lafayette fires upon and suppresses it—The constitution completed—The king restored—Lafayette resigns his commission—Retires to Chavagnac—Is defeated as candidate for Mayor of Paris—Is appointed a general of the army—Accepts—Reception at Paris—Repairs to Mentz—Letter to Gen. Washington—War declared—Reign of Terroir approaches—Lafayette remonstrates to the Assembly—His appeal comes too late—Insurrection of the 20th June.

THE solemn festival was ended. The national pageant passed away. And how soon were the royal oaths, the patriotick protestations, sworn upon the altar of the country, forgotten ! Of those high functionaries, who thus solemnly pledged themselves before heaven and in the face of the nation, few besides Lafayette remained faithful. On the one hand, the club of the Jacobins, which afterwards established the Reign of Terroir, and deluged France in blood, began to exercise a political influence. On the other, the court and the nobles continued their intrigues, and aggravated and encouraged the popular excesses, for the purpose of effecting a counter-revolution. To neither of these extremes was the constitution satisfactory. Their respective opinions of it, may be expressed in the language of Mirabeau : “ For a monarchy, it was too democratick, and for a republick, there was a king too much.” The difficulties of the period, and of his position, are thus stated by Lafayette, in a letter to Gen. Washington, dated August 26th, 1790.

“ We are disturbed with revolts among the regiments ; and, as I am constantly attacked on both sides by the aristocratick and the factious parties, I do not know to which of the two we owe these insurrections. Our safeguard

against them is the national guards. There are more than a million of armed citizens ; among them, patriotick legions ; and my influence with them is as great as if I had accepted the chief command. I have lately lost some of my favour with the mob, and displeased the frantick lovers of licentiousness, as I am bent on establishing a legal subordination. But the nation at large is very thankful to me for it. It is not out of the heads of aristocrats to make a counter-revolution. Nay, they do what they can, with all the crowned heads of Europe, who hate us. But I think their plans will be either abandoned or unsuccessful. I am rather more concerned at a division that rages in the popular party. The club of the Jacobins, and that of '89, [afterwards the *Fleuillants*] as it is called, have divided the friends of liberty, who accuse each other, the Jacobins being taxed with a disorderly extravagance, and '89 with a tincture of ministerialism and ambition. I am endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation."

Mirabeau, the popular orator of the Assembly, had been gained over to the side of the court. The flight of the king was again resolved upon. The people were suspicious of the design, and ready for commotion. On the 28th of February, 1791, a movement of the populace, instigated, as was afterwards believed, for the purpose of favouring the flight of the king, took place, having for its object the destruction of the castle of Vincennes. That castle was regarded as a second Bastile, the tower of which, communicating with the Tuilleries, was to serve for the escape of the king. Lafayette repaired promptly to the spot, and dispersed the populace. While he was thus engaged, several hundred persons, dependents of the court and palace, repaired to the Tuilleries, for the purpose, as was supposed, of carrying the king off ; but Lafayette arrived in time to disarm and disperse these royalist desperadoes, who, from daggers being found upon them, were called *knights of the poignard*, "This scene (says Thier) determined the real position of Lafayette. It was clearly shown on this occasion, that, placed between the most opposite parties, he was there to protect both the person of the king and the constitution. His double victory increased his popularity, his power, and the hatred of his enemies. Mirabeau, who wrongfully encouraged the distrust of the court towards him, represented

his conduct as profoundly hypocritical." But Mirabeau, who seems to have been sincerely desirous of arresting the progress of anarchy, did not live long to enjoy the confidence of his new friends, or the unbounded popularity and influence he possessed in the Assembly. He died, after a short illness, on the 20th April.

So great was the distrust of the people, that the carriage of the king was stopped, on his way to St. Clouds, (April 18,) by a mob, under the supposition that he meditated flight. From this perilous situation he was rescued by Lafayette. The king repaired to the Assembly ; complained of the indig-nity ; and soon after (23d April) caused a letter to be written in his behalf to the foreign ambassadors, contradicting the intentions imputed to him of leaving the country, declaring his intention to keep the oath he had taken to the constitution, and proclaiming as his enemies all who should insinuate to the contrary.

And yet, in the face of these professions, a plan was secretly maturing, with the agents of the French emigrants and foreign powers, for the flight of the royal family. They were to proceed to Montmedy, where Gen. Bouillé, a rigid friend of the court, under the pretext of a movement of the enemy's troops on the frontier, had established a camp of such troops as he supposed could be relied upon. The queen made all the arrangements. She had secured a private door for leaving the palace. The secret was intrusted only to such persons as were indispensable to its execution. In various disguises the royal family, one by one, quitted the palace, on the night of the 21st of June, and at the place of rendezvous took carriages, and proceeded rapidly on their way. They travelled under a foreign name and with a fictitious passport.

Lafayette knew nothing beforehand of these movements. Relying upon the royal professions, he had publickly pledged himself for the good faith of the king, and that he would not leave Paris. On his flight being known in the morning, Lafayette immediately sent his aids-de-camp in pursuit, assuming in the order, that the royal family had been carried off by enemies of the publick welfare. The people were soon in great commotion, assembled in immense crowds at the Hotel de Ville, and accused Lafayette of having favoured the king's escape. The prompt measures he adopted, his fearless and conciliatory deportment, silenced these accusa-

tions. Some lamenting the flight as a publick calamity, Lafayette exclaimed, *if they called that event a misfortune, he wished to know what name they would give to a counter-revolution which would deprive them of liberty.* The same eye-witness (Toulonjeon) adds, that several voices in the multitude were raised to offer Lafayette the vacant place. His indignant rejection of the proposition, restored him to all his previous popularity.

The measures promptly taken by Lafayette, were approved of by the Assembly. His aids, having been stopped by the people at the barriers, the Assembly ordered the gates to be opened to them. One of them, Romeuf, with the decree of the Assembly, confirming Lafayette's orders, took the road which proved to be that by which the king had departed. The next night, the royal fugitives were recognized and arrested at Varennes. There, Romeuf found them, and delivered to them the decree of the convention. The whole royal family expressed great indignation against Lafayette, for causing them to be arrested. The queen even expressed astonishment (anticipating that he would be blamed for the flight of the king) that he had not been put to death by the people. Such were royal faith, and royal gratitude! Romeuf replied, that Lafayette and himself had only done their duty; but they had hoped the pursuit would not have been successful.

The royal family returned to Paris, escorted and protected from threatened violence, by the commissioners of the Assembly, and officers and detachments of the national guards. Lafayette, with a numerous guard, took every precaution to preserve order. He had gone forward to meet the procession, and in his absence an immense crowd had assembled around the Tuileries. The royal family were received by this crowd in silence, without any token of respect or disapprobation. On discovering the life guards who had accompanied the king in the disguise of couriers, and were then seated on the box of the carriage, the populace became riotous, and violently assailed these guardsmen.—They were saved by the interference of Lafayette. The Assembly, by a decree, and in conformity with a previous act in contemplation of his departure, had suspended the king from his functions; and directed that Lafayette, as commander-in-chief of the national guards, should place a

guard over the king, the queen, and the dauphin, and that the guard should be personally responsible for their safe custody. Lafayette repaired to the apartment of the king, and with much delicacy and respect, communicated to him this decree of the Assembly, and said to him, "Has your majesty any orders to give me?" "It appears to me," replied the king, with a smile, "that I am more under your orders than you are under mine." The queen, however, was quite irritated, and made some disdainful remarks, which Lafayette bore with his usual composure and kindness.

The flight of the king had increased the popular prejudice against him, and emboldened the Jacobin clubs, who, with Petion and Robespierre at their head, openly demanded a republick. They contended that the king by his flight had abdicated the throne. Lafayette, with a majority of the Assembly, were desirous of sustaining the king and the constitution; of securing what had been gained; justly fearing that the French people were not prepared for a purely republican government, and that anarchy, which already threatened, would lead to the restoration of the old monarchical system, or to inevitable despotism. The Assembly, after investigating the subject of the king's journey, and receiving from him a disavowal of his intention to leave the kingdom, that he merely went for the purpose of ascertaining the publick opinion, which he was satisfied was in favour of the constitution, and pledging himself, therefore, to support it; declared that the king was not culpable, that he had not forfeited the throne, and could not be brought to trial, on account of his late journey.

On this decision being announced, the Jacobins were in commotion. They excited the multitude to resistance. They drew up a petition, in which they denied the competency of the Assembly, appealed from it to the sovereignty of the people, considered Louis XVI as a private citizen, since he had fled, and demanded a substitute for him. On the 17th of July, (1791,) the anarchists assembled in great numbers in the Champ-de-Mars. Lafayette repaired thither, broke down the barricades which had been erected; and after a narrow escape from a musket that was fired at him, succeeded in persuading the populace to retire. The mob, however, soon after returned; murdered two invalids and paraded their heads upon pikes, and threat-

ened further violence. Bailly, the mayor, hastened to the scene ; was several times fired upon by the mob, but with intrepid courage proclaimed martial law, and summoned the mob to disperse. Lafayette again arrived with the guards ; he at first ordered a few shots to be fired into the air. The rioters persisting, he was compelled to give the word *fire !* and several of the agitators were killed. To arrest the ardour of the guards, Lafayette placed himself in front of the cannon, which was about to be again fired. The astonished gunner drew back ; and the mob dispersed without further bloodshed. Lafayette deemed it his duty, and thus unshrinkingly risked his popularity and his life, to preserve the constitution and laws. By this energetic course, the factions were overawed, and publick tranquillity for some time longer preserved.

The constituent Assembly at length completed its labours, and presented the constitutional act, which embraced the several articles that had been adopted, and the decrees relative thereto, to the king for his acceptance. The king, restored to the freedom and the powers he had enjoyed previous to his departure, after deliberating for several days, repaired to the Assembly and announced his acceptance of the constitutional act entire. The enthusiastick expressions of approbation by the deputies and the populace, on this occasion, indicated that the king had obtained anew the confidence and affections of the people. Lafayette, "who never forgot (says Thiers), to repair the inevitable evils of political troubles," proposed a general amnesty for all acts connected with the revolution, which was proclaimed amidst shouts of joy, and the prisons were instantly thrown open.

After providing for the election of deputies for a new Assembly, to which its own members were declared ineligible, the constituent Assembly terminated its sittings.

Deeming the purposes of his appointment accomplished, Lafayette resigned his office of commandant of the national guards ; and on the 8th of October, took leave of them in an affectionate and instructive letter. "To serve you until this day, gentlemen, (he said,) was a duty imposed upon me by the sentiments which have animated my whole life ; it was but the return of fidelity to which your confidence was entitled. To resign now, without reserve, to my country all

the power and influences he gave me for the purpose of defending her during recent convulsions,—this is a duty I owe to my well known resolutions, and it amply satisfies the only species of ambition I possess."

His faithful guards parted with their beloved commander with deep regret. They presented to him the statue of Washington, and a sword forged from the bolts of the Bastile. Lafayette, also, on the 8th October, delivered a farewell address to the commune, and quitted the capital for the place of his nativity, about one hundred and twenty leagues from Paris. Every where on his journey, he was received by the people with the warmest tokens of honour and affection.

The first act of the new Legislative Assembly, was solemnly to take the oath to support the constitution. But violations of that sacred compact, by this same Assembly, instigated by the Jacobins and other factions of Paris, soon followed in profusion. "The influence (asserts Dumas) which the capital had exercised in the conquest of liberty was equally necessary to preserve the fruits of it. This support failed us. Publick order rested solely on the zeal and good spirit of the national guard and the municipal authorities. General Lafayette, the commander-in-chief, and M. Bailly, the mayor of Paris, had acquired the entire confidence of all classes of citizens. They were the soul of this great body; in their wisdom, their firmness, their perfect understanding, the publick force in all its intensity resided. General Lafayette had fulfilled all his engagements; he had no other proofs to give of his disinterested devotedness, than by laying down this species of popular dictatorship, which the esteem and affection of the entire mass of the nation had conferred on him. He bid adieu to the national guard, and retired to his estate at Chevagnac. His loss was irreparable."

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"The respectable M. Bailly, mayor of Paris, who notwithstanding his ill health, had remained at his post only at the repeated entreaties of M. Lafayette, soon followed his example and retired."

The friends of liberty and order, however, sought to restore to Paris the presence and services of Lafayette, by procuring his election as mayor. But the court party hoping more from the instability of the opposing faction, than from

the known principles and firmness of Lafayette, threw the weight of its influence in favour of Petion, and thus confirmed the power of the Jacobins and sealed its own destiny. "M. de Lafayette" said the queen to de Melville, minister of marines, "only wished to be mayor of Paris, in order afterwards to be mayor of the palace. Petion is a Jacobin and a republican, but he is too great a fool ever to be capable of becoming the head of a party."

But Lafayette did not long enjoy the retirement to which he had looked forward with hope and anxiety, as expressed in his letters to Gen. Washington, with whom he had regularly kept up a correspondence. The royalist emigrants, continually increasing in number, were assembling in hostile force upon the frontiers of the nation. The coalition of foreign powers against France was developing. These threatened dangers united the king and the Assembly (December, 1791) in measures of defence. Three armies of fifty thousand men each, were to be assembled on the Rhine, and Luckner, Rochambeau, and Lafayette, were the generals appointed to command them. The last name, when announced to the Assembly, was received with applause. Lafayette repaired promptly to Paris, and appeared before the Assembly, where he was cordially received. In addressing him, the President remarked, that the nation confidently opposed to its enemies, *the constitution and Lafayette*. "Battalions" of the national guard (says Thiers) escorted him on leaving Paris, and every thing proved to him that the name of Lafayette was not forgotten, but that he was still regarded as one of the founders of liberty."

In a letter to Gen. Washington, dated at Head-quarters, Mentz, January 22, 1792, Lafayette said :

"This is a very different date from that which had announced to you my return to the sweets of private life; a situation hitherto not very familiar to me, but which, after fifteen revolutionary years, I had become quite fit to enjoy. I have given you an account of the quiet and rural mode of living I had adopted in the mountains where I was born, having there a good house, and a *late* manor, now unlarded into a large farm, with an English overseer for my instruction. I felt myself very happy among my neighbours, no more vassals to me nor any body, and had given to my wife and rising family the only quiet weeks they had enjoyed for a

long time, when the threats and mad preparations of the refugees, and still more the countenance they had obtained in the dominions of our neighbours, induced the National Assembly and the king to adopt a more rigorous system than had hitherto been the case.” \* \* \* “ I had refused every publick employment, that had been offered by the people, and still more had I denied my consent to my being appointed to any military command ; but when I saw our liberties and constitution were seriously threatened, and my services could be usefully employed in fighting for our old cause, I could no longer resist the wishes of my countrymen ; and, as soon as the king’s express reached my farm, I set out for Paris ; from thence to this place ; and I do not think it uninteresting to you, my dear general, to add, that I was every where on the road affectionately welcomed.”

These measures, sanctioned by the king, with warm protestations to meet firmly the crisis of war, should the emigrants and foreign powers persist in their hostile preparations, revived confidence between the king and the nation. The question of war became the leading one in the Assembly. The Girondins, or moderate Jacobins, were in favour of war. The radical Jacobins, with Robespierre at their head, were opposed to it. They seemed to fear that war would give too many advantages to Lafayette, and finally ensure to him the military dictatorship. The Girondins, however, supposed, and several historians of the times have confirmed this supposition, that the Jacobins, being in the interests of the Duke of Orleans, and regarding Lafayette as his rival, or an obstacle to his designs, advocated peace, to deprive Lafayette of the reputation and influence which, from his known valour and patriotism, war would inevitably ensure to him.

In the mean time (to quote again the authority of M. Thiers) “ Lafayette, young, active, and anxious to distinguish himself in the service of his country, re-established discipline among his troops, and overcame all the difficulties raised by the ill will of the officers, who were the aristocrats of the army. He called them together, and addressing them in the language of honour, he told them they must quit the camp if they would not serve loyally ; that, if any of them wished to retire, he would undertake to procure for them pensions in France, or passports for foreign countries ;

but that, if they persisted in serving, he expected from them zeal and fidelity. In this manner, he contrived to introduce into his army better order than that which prevailed in any of the others."

But, amidst the increasing indications of a foreign war, the reign of anarchy in the government of France, seemed as rapidly approaching. Duplicity governed the councils of the king, and factions, internal and external, influenced the Assembly. Of this state of things, Lafayette was painfully aware, and yet entertained hopes of a favourable change. Being called to Paris, to attend a conference with the other generals and the ministers, Lafayette wrote to Gen. Washington, March 15, 1792; giving him a statement of affairs. "You see (he said in conclusion) that although we have many causes to be as yet unsatisfied, we may hope every thing may become right. Licentiousness, under the mask of patriotism, is our greatest evil, as it threatens property, tranquillity, and liberty itself."

War being at length declared against Austria, (April 20,) Lafayette was directed to perform the principal part in a precipitate plan of attack projected by the minister, Dumouriez, against the Netherlands. Lafayette executed his orders with surprising activity, collecting the scattered corps of his army, and traversing a space of more than sixty leagues in six days. He was marching towards Namur, had encountered an enemy's corps, and the firing had actually begun, when news of the defection and retreat of two detachments of Rochambeau's army, which were to co-operate with him, made it necessary for him to retire. This he did, in good order, concentrating his forces in their former position. And in this first effort of the armies of the constitution, "the army of Lafayette alone, (says Dumas) attached to its general, had retained its discipline." Far different would probably have been the result of this first expedition, and the fate of the constitutional government, had the chief command been intrusted to Lafayette, as the most prudent friends of the nation desired. But through the influence of the court and the Jacobin factions, to each of whom Lafayette was a terror, the request was denied. Nor were the plans and advice of the brave Rochambeau, who had served with so much credit in America, heeded by

the ambitious minister, at that time the joint representative of the court and the Jacobin factions.

The days of *terroir* were rapidly approaching. The court, the king and the queen, the factions of the Assembly and of the clubs, in their jealousies and dissensions, their endeavours to thwart each other's designs, and to secure power for themselves, were accelerating the crisis. The infamous Marat, like a hungry wolf, prowling for prey, was urging on the populace to deeds of blood. Dumouriez, the minister, after having induced the king to dismiss his colleagues, among whom was the celebrated Roland, was himself compelled to resign. But such changes were of almost daily occurrence. The king was deprived of his guards, his constitutional powers disregarded, and his personal safety threatened. And yet, the queen and the court were obstinately bent on their counter-revolutionary projects. Some of the members of the constitutional party opened a correspondence with Lafayette, to induce him to exert his influence to stay the torrent which threatened to overwhelm all that had been gained for liberty. Willing at all times to interpose his reputation and his life for rational freedom and the welfare of his country, Lafayette, on the 16th of June, 1792, addressed from his camp at Maubeuge, a letter to the president of the Legislative Assembly. "This document (says Dumas) must be considered as one of the most valuable we possess, because it characterises better than any other the true situation of France at that period."

Aftering boldly admonishing the Assemby, upon all subjects of vital interest to the country, he said :

"Let the royal power be inviolate, for it is guaranteed by the constitution ; let it be independent, for this independence is one of the stays of our liberty ; let the king be revered, for he is invested with the majesty of the nation ; let him be able to choose a ministry which wears the chains of no faction ; and if there are conspirators, let them not perish but under the sword of the law.

"Lastly, let the reign of the clubs, annihilated by you, give way to the reign of the law ; their usurpations, to the firm and independent exercise of the constituted authorities ; their disorganizing maxims, to the principles of liberty ; their insensate fury, to the calm and constant courage of a nation which knows its rights and defends them ; lastly,

their sectarian combinations, to the real interests of the country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to unite all those who do not see in its subjugation and its ruin, the objects of atrocious enjoyment and an infamous speculation."

In conclusion, he said :—

" Gentlemen ! I have obeyed the voice of my conscience and my duty. I owed it to my country, to you, to the king, and above all to myself, whom the chances of war do not allow to delay the observations which I conceive to be useful, and who take pleasure in believing that the National Assembly will consider it as a new testimony of my devotedness to its constitutional authority, and of my personal gratitude and respect." \*

This letter was read in the Assembly on the 18th of June. It was listened to with respectful attention. It was warmly applauded by a large portion of the Assembly and received by the others without any marks of disapprobation. A motion to print it was carried ; but a motion to distribute it to all the departments, aroused the hostility of the Jacobins, by whom the letter was bitterly denounced. Some members affected to deny the authenticity of the letter. " Even if it were not signed," exclaimed one member, " none but M. de Lafayette could have written it." " The Assembly ought to receive (said another), from the lips of Lafayette truths which it had not dared to tell itself." It was finally referred to a committee for the avowed purpose of verifying its authenticity.

It was too late for an appeal so sincere, bold, and patriotic, to have more than a momentary influence. On the 20th of June, an immense armed mob collected in defiance of the prohibitions of the publick authorities. The avowed object of the Jacobin leaders, was, to present petitions to the king and the Assembly. The account which is given of this insurrectionary movement, by M. Thiers, is pronounced to be correct by Count Dumas, who was an eye-witness. It may convey to the reader a faint idea of those tempestuous and bloody tumults which so frequently occurred during the further progress of the French revolution, until despotism

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\* For the whole of this interesting document, see *Dumas' Memoirs of the French Revolution*, Vol. I. p. 219, &c..

put an end to anarchy. The Assembly was debating whether to admit the mob, which was already at its doors :

" All at once, (says Thiers,) the petitioners rushed into the hall. The Assembly, indignant at the intrusion, rose ; the president put on his hat, and the petitioners quietly withdrew. The Assembly, gratified by this mark of respect, consented to admit them.

" This petition, the tone of which was most audacious, expressed the prevailing idea of all the petitions of that period. ' The people are ready. They wait but for you. They are disposed to employ great means for carrying into execution Article 2 of the declaration of rights—*resistance to oppression*. . . . Let the minority among you, whose sentiments do not agree with ours, cease to pollute the land of liberty, and betake yourselves to Coblenz. Investigate the cause of the evils which threaten us. If it proceeds from the executive, let the executive be annihilated !'

" The president, after a reply in which he promised the petitioners the vigilance of the representatives of the people, and recommended obedience to the laws, granted them in the name of the Assembly, permission to file off before it. The doors were then thrown open, and the mob, amounting at that moment to at least thirty thousand persons, passed through the hall. It is easy to conceive what the imagination of the populace, abandoned to itself, is capable of producing. Enormous tables, upon which lay the declaration of rights, headed the procession. Around these tables danced women and children, bearing olive-branches and pikes, that is to say, peace or war at the option of the enemy. They sang in chorus the famous *Ca ira*. Then came the porters of the markets, the working men of all classes, with wretched muskets, swords, and sharp pieces of iron fastened to the end of thick bludgeons. Santerre and the Marquis de St. Hurugues, who had already attracted notice on the 5th and 6th of October, marched with drawn swords at their head. Battalions of the national guard followed in good order, to prevent tumult by their presence. After them came women and more armed men. Waving flags were inscribed with the words, ' The constitution or death.' Ragged breeches were held up in the air with shouts of *Vivent les sans-culottes !* Lastly, an atrocious sign was displayed to add ferocity to the whimsicality of the spectacle. On the point of a pike was borne a calf's heart, with this inscription : ' Heart of an aristocrat.'

" Grief and indignation burst forth at this sight. The horrid emblem instantly disappeared, but was again exhibited at the gates of the Tuilleries. The applause of the tribunes, the shouts of the people passing through the hall, the civick songs, the confused uproar, and the silence of the anxious Assembly, composed an extraordinary scene, and at the same time an afflicting one to the very deputies who viewed the multitude as an auxiliary."

## CHAPTER XXV.

Lafayette indignant at the outrages in Paris—Remonstrances of the army—Lafayette repairs to Paris—Appears before the Assembly—Denounces the Jacobins—Accused and defended—Received with coldness by the king and queen—Enthusiasm of the populace—Lafayette returns to the army—Conciliation of factions in the Assembly—New outbreaks of the populace—Lafayette sees the approach of the tempest—His plan for the safety of the king and queen—Rejected by them—Opposing project and views of Gouverneur Morris—The dethronement of the king proposed by the Jacobins—Accusation against Lafayette—He is acquitted by the Assembly—Last gleam of justice—Fearful insurrection of the 10th August—Suspension of the royal authority—Final imprisonment of the king and family—Account of these events by Theirs and Dumas—Lafayette refuses to acknowledge the Jacobin authorities—Causes the imprisonment of their commissioners—The Assembly declare Lafayette a traitor—Jacobinism infects the armies—Luckner and Dumouriez submit—Lafayette leaves France—His arrest and imprisonment in Austria and Prussia.

LAFAYETTE received the account of these outrages with pain and indignation. The great majority of the army participated in his sentiments and feelings, and addresses expressive of their indignation were presented to him from several of his regiments. To these he put a stop in an order of the day, in which he promised to express in person the feelings of the whole army. With the concurrence of Gen. Luckner, his superior in command, after taking precautions that his absence should not be detrimental to the military operations, he hastened to Paris, to confirm before the Legislative Assembly what he had written on the 16th, and to confront, for the sake of liberty and order, the greatest dangers. He arrived in Paris on the 28th of June, and the same day appeared before the Assembly. An immense concourse had repaired hither, learning his arrival, and anticipating his presence. Lafayette in the first place explained the motives of his coming. It had been asserted that his letter of the 16th was not written by himself: he came to avow it, and to repeat its sentiments, in his own name, and in behalf of his brave army, who were already asking them-

selves "if it is really the cause of liberty and the constitution that they are defending." He concluded his speech in the following terms: "I beseech the National Assembly to order that the instigators of the crimes and acts of violence committed in the Tuilleries on the 20th of June, be prosecuted and punished as guilty of treason to the nation; to destroy a sect which usurps the sovereignty, tyrannizes over the citizens, and whose publick debates leave no doubt of the atrocity of the projects of those who direct them. Lastly, I venture to beseech you, in my name, and in the name of all honest people in the kingdom, to take effectual measures to ensure respect to the constituted authorities, especially your own and that of the king, and to give the army the assurance that the constitution shall not receive any injury in the interior, while the brave French lavish their blood in defence of the frontiers."

Lafayette was admitted to the honours of the sitting, amidst the applauses of a large portion of the Assembly. But his speech was immediately attacked by the leaders of the factions. Guadet, in his ironical manner, asked if the Austrian army was beaten. "No," said he, "our enemies are still the same—our external situation has not changed, and yet the general of our armies is at Paris." He accused Lafayette of coming to dictate to the Assembly, and moved an inquiry as to his culpability, and the propriety of prohibiting generals commanding an army from presenting petitions at the bar of the Assembly.

Raymond, a patriot delegate, answered. He referred to the armed multitude which had been permitted, on the 20th of the same month, to appear at the bar, and march through the hall of the Assembly. "Now, (said he) M. Lafayette, who has given to the nation as security his whole fortune, his whole life, a reputation of more value than life and fortune, appears at the bar, and suspicions and alarms are expressed, and passions are unchained." Raymond, after justifying the step taken by Lafayette, and the measures he had adopted to avert the publick danger, proposed that his petition should be referred to the extraordinary committee, which should deliberate on the matter, and report in as short a time as possible. Priority was given to this proposition over that of Guadet, and it was adopted by the Assembly.

Lafayette left the Assembly, surrounded by a numerous train of deputies and soldiers of the national guards, his old companions in arms. He repaired to the palace, and was received with indifference, Thiers says with coldness, by the king and queen. But Lafayette was nevertheless desirous of making an effort to unite the old national guards, and to arrest at once the violent measures of the Jacobins. The king was next day to have reviewed four thousand men of the national guards. Lafayette asked permission to accompany him, apprising him at the same time of his intention, as soon as his majesty had retired, of addressing the troops. But the court did every thing in its power to thwart Lafayette, and Petion, the mayor, countermanded the review an hour before daylight. "On leaving the Tuilleries (says Thiers) a numerous concourse escorted him to his residence, shouting "Long live Lafayette!" and even planted a May [liberty poll] before his gate. These demonstrations of old attachment touched the general and intimidated the Jacobins." He was unable, however, from the duplicity of the court, and the distracted views of the constitutionalists, to turn these generous feelings to the advantage of his country. Lafayette, therefore, after remaining, to the great terroir of the Jacobins, one day longer in Paris, returned to his army.

Fickleness and change, frequent alternations of the better and baser passions, characterized the period. On the 7th of July, after a stormy session in the Assembly, the Bishop of Lyons closed an eloquent appeal in favour of harmony in the support of constitutional freedom, as follows: "Let us swear to have but one spirit, but one sentiment. Let us swear everlasting fraternity! Let the enemy know that what we will, we all will, and the country is saved!"

These generous sentiments of the Bishop were applauded by the Assembly. "Amidst universal acclamations (says Thiers) they devoted to publick execration any project for changing the constitution, either by two chambers or by a republick; and the members rushed from the opposite benches to embrace one another. Those who had attacked and those who had defended Lafayette, the veto, the civil list, the *factions*, and the *traitors*, were clasped in each other's arms. All distinctions ceased; there was no longer any right or left side, and all the members sat indiscriminately together."

“It was immediately decided, that they should inform the provinces, the army, and the king, of this happy event.”

The king, on being apprised by the deputation, hastened to the Assembly, and expressed in person his satisfaction at this reconciliation. But, alas ! for human instability ! Scarcely a day passed before the old animosities returned ; and mutual jealousies and denunciations were renewed. The insurrectionary spirit became more general and violent. The king considered himself in great personal danger, and took precaution to guard against poison and the dagger. But his dangers were of a more formidable nature—the weapons he had to encounter were more potent than insidious poison or the assassin’s dagger : they were the whirlwind of popular fury, and the forms of law administered by judges predetermined upon conviction.

Lafayette saw the rapid approaches of the impending tempest. And notwithstanding the weakness of the king, the wickedness of the court, and the ingratitude with which he continued to be treated by both, he made one more effort to avert the fatal catastrophe which threatened, by removing the king for a time beyond the influence of the infuriated populace of Paris.

He proposed that the king should in open day repair to the Assembly, and announce his intention of spending some days at Compiegne. For this journey Lafayette was to provide a safe conduct ; and when at Compiegne, the king was to be protected by the national guards of that place, and two regiments under Gen. Latour Maubourg. He was there, in perfect freedom and safety, to declare for the constitution and interpose his influence and authority against the emigrants and foreign invaders of the country. Though the king was strongly solicited by some of his friends, to place confidence in Lafayette, the sinister advice of the counter-revolutionists prevailed, and the proposal of Lafayette was rejected. When the queen was asked, by what strange infatuation she and the king had come to such a decision, she replied, that they were very grateful for Lafayette’s intention, “but,” she added, “the best thing that could happen to us, would be, to be confined two months in a tower !” The queen is said also to have remarked : “It would be too much to owe our lives once more to Lafayette.”

It appears from the memoirs of Governeur Morris, then

minister of the United States to France, that a plan for the escape of the royal family, more congenial to the views and purposes of the royalists, was at the same time in progress. Mr. Morris himself, whose political views were adverse to those of Lafayette, and congenial with those of the court, was necessary to this plan ; and the king's money was intrusted to his keeping. It is probable that Lafayette's proposition was discountenanced by Mr. Morris, and that he had no small influence in causing its rejection. His own, or that in which he bore a part, was exploded by the insurrectionary events of the 10th of August. Mr. Morris thus relates in his Diary a previous conversation (June 29) with Lafayette, in which their respective political views are indicated : "I observe to him, that he must soon return to his army, or go to Orleans ; and that he must determine to fight for a good constitution, or for that wretched piece of paper which bears the name ; that in six weeks it will be too late. He asks what I mean by a good constitution, whether it is an aristocratick one ? I answer yes, and that I presume he has lived long enough in the present style to see, that a popular government is good for nothing in France. He says that he wishes for the American constitution, but a hereditary executive. I reply, that in that case the monarch must be too strong, and must be checked by a hereditary Senate. He says, it goes hard with him to give up that point. Here ends our colloquy." Mr. Morris had previously discountenanced the king's reliance upon Lafayette's project of appealing to the patriotism of the national guards. "I tell him (June 28) that Lafayette's visit can produce nothing, and that he must exert himself to bring forward the Picards." Mr. Morris enjoyed the confidence of the king and court. Lafayette did not. It was none to his discredit. But, between the intrigues of the royalists, and the madness of the anarchists, his patriotic designs were frustrated.

In the mean time the plans of the Jacobins were ripening into insurrection ; and the deposition of the king was openly advocated in the Assembly. On the 3d of August, Petion, the mayor of Paris, presented a petition, in behalf of the 48 sections, proposing in their name, the dethronement of the king. It was a preliminary, and a primary object with the factionists, to destroy the character and

influence of Lafayette. The report of the committee of twelve, was demanded and made, and furnished no cause of accusation. The Jacobin orators in the Assembly denounced Lafayette in the most bitter terms, and endeavoured to hurry through a decree for his impeachment. They had obtained from Marshal Luckner, some declarations which they construed into an admission, that Lafayette had proposed to him to march the army upon Paris. Bureau de Puzy, chief of Lafayette's staff, was called to the bar of the Assembly, to testify. He boldly and ably defended Lafayette from the aspersions of his enemies. In conclusion, he defied his calumniators to resist the truths which he had just declared : "Without any arms but truth," said he, "I will attack them, and after stripping them of their hypocritical garb of probity and patriotism, under which they disguise themselves, I will deliver them naked in all their deformity to the indignation of honest men." Marshal Luckner, at the same time addressed a letter to the Assembly, contradicting the declarations imputed to him upon which the denunciations against Lafayette had been founded. He declared that Lafayette had never proposed to him directly or indirectly, to march against Paris ; he repelled those odious calumnies, and ascribed to his slender knowledge of the French language the false inferences that had been drawn from his conversations.

On the 8th of August, after a violent speech from Brissot, which concluded by demanding, that the Assembly should immediately pronounce the decree of impeachment against Lafayette, the vote was taken : For the impeachment 224 ; against it 406—majority 182. Justice, for the last time in that Assembly, prevailed.

"It was (says Dumas in his memoirs) a last and deceitful ray of hope. The torch of truth was on the point of being extinguished. As soon as the decree was pronounced, and the sitting closed, cries of rage and imprecations burst from the galleries, and were repeated by the tumultuous crowd who surrounded the hall and obstructed all access to it. The deputies whom the factions had chiefly remarked during the debate, and whom, they pointed out to the assassins, were insulted, attacked, pursued out of the hall in different directions. Dumolard, Vaublanc, Daverhoul, Quatremere, Froudiere, with difficulty took refuge in the guardhouse of the court of the palais royal, and found no other means of escaping the popular rage than by getting out of a window. I too had my share in this ill-usage. I was going out by the narrow passage which led from the hall to the

convent of the Capuchins, where our bureaux were situated, when I was surrounded by a group of market women. Trodden under foot by these furies, I should have perished under their blows, if Girardin, who followed me, and called to my assistance two door-keepers of the Assembly, had not freed me by dragging me by the legs out of the passage. During this struggle, an individual whom I will not name, and who, in the mutual massacre of the terrorists, afterwards perished on the scaffold, encouraged these women.

"I heard him say distinctly, 'It is he! it is Dumas!' I must also say that some of our most ardent adversaries, placing us between them, favoured our departure. I concealed as well as I could the disorder of my head-dress and of my torn clothes, and took refuge in the depot of the war-office, of which I was still director, and which I had caused to be transferred from Versailles to the house of M. Deville, in the Place Vendome, near the Chancery."

On the 10th of August, 1792, took place that fearful insurrection for which Danton, Murat, Robespierre, and their subordinate spirits, had been preparing the populace of Paris. The palace of the Tuilleries was surrounded by an infuriate mob. Louis the XVI was insulted and threatened by the very troops assembled for his defence. Maudat, the commandant of the national guards, was assassinated.—The king and royal family repaired for refuge to the National Assembly. The palace was assailed and finally captured by the mob. The Swiss guard, and others who resisted, were massacred. The shouts of victory were raised; the mob, intoxicated with joy and fury, burst open the doors of the Assembly, and the halls were filled with the spoils of the palace. For fifteen hours, the king and royal family, confined to the narrow box of a reporter, witnessed these scenes, and listened to the demands made upon the Assembly for the dethronement of the king, and to the debates thereon. At length a decree was adopted, suspending the royal authority and convoking a convention to decide the question of the king's dethronement. The king and his family were soon consigned to the temple, which was converted by outworks into a kind of fortress. Here they were strongly guarded, and no one was allowed to enter without permission from the municipality. Here they were confined until led forth to the guillotine.

It is not our purpose to give a connected history of this eventful period. It comes only within our limits and legitimate objects, to notice briefly those events with which Lafayette was connected, or which influenced his action.

Count Dumas, whom we have before quoted, bears witness to the correctness of the narrative of M. Thiers, particularly as to the events of the 10th of August, and those connected therewith. To this writer we refer for the interesting and heart-rending details of the commencement and progress of the Reign of Terroir, which here had its bloody beginning. We add, however, in conformity with our object above mentioned, two extracts from these writers.

"After the work of slaughter [at the palace, states M. Thiers] followed that of devastation. The magnificent furniture was dashed in pieces, and the fragments scattered far and wide. The rabble penetrated into the private apartments of the queen and indulged in the most obscene mirth. They pried into the most secret recesses, ransacked every depository of papers, broke open every lock, and enjoyed the twofold gratification of curiosity and destruction. To the horrors of murder and pillage were added those of conflagration. The flames having already consumed the sheds contiguous to the outer courts, began to spread to the edifice, and threatened that imposing abode of royalty with complete ruin. The desolation was not confined to the melancholy circuit of the palace ; it extended to a distance. The streets were strewed with wrecks of furniture and dead bodies. Every one who fled, or was supposed to be fleeing, was treated as an enemy, pursued, and fired at. An almost incessant report of musketry succeeded that of the cannon, and was every moment the signal of fresh murders."

"The Place Vendome (says Dumas) was filled with the crowd which followed the wretches with heads on their pikes. *Above all, I beheld with horrour very young men, even children, playing with heads, throwing them into the air, and receiving them on the ends of sticks.* This passed but a short time before the discharge of fire-arms in the attack and assault of the palace of the Tuilleries. \* \* \* \* \* A little later, in the midst of this tumult, we saw the famous Teroigne, on horseback, in a scarlet riding habit, followed by a great number of workmen, carrying ropes and all sorts of tools. She rode round the statue of Louis XIV, insulting the great monarch, and crying, 'Fall, tyrant.' The iron railing which surrounded the pedestal was torn away in an instant ; they scaled and put ropes round the head, neck, and croup of the horse ; they made long and fruitless exertions, but it was not until the next day, after they had defaced the pedestal and filed the screws and the fastenings, that they could move the mass. It fell on the pavement, and was broken in several pieces."

No wonder that the first impulse of Lafayette, on receiving the news of these horrid events, was resistance. The Assembly had promptly sent three commissioners, to announce the new order of things to the army, and to obtain their adhesion to the new authorities. These commissioners, on arriving at Sedan, the head-quarters of Lafayette,

were imprisoned by the municipalities of that place, by the directions of Lafayette, as the instruments of faction, which had intimidated by violence the National Assembly and the king. His army, and the authorities of Sedan, renewed their oath to the constitution. On learning the imprisonment of these commissioners, the Assembly, greatly exasperated, and influenced by the self-constituted municipal authorities of the Jacobins, sent other commissioners to demand the liberation of those who had been imprisoned ; and, on the morning of the 19th of August, declared Lafayette a traitor to the country, and passed a decree of accusation against him.

In the mean time, the agents of the Jacobins had succeeded in diffusing the spirit of that faction, under the specious name of republicanism, among the soldiers and the subordinate officers of the armies. Luckner and Dumouriez, the associate generals of Lafayette, had yielded. The civil authorities, being intimidated, submitted to the new commissioners. What remained for Lafayette to do ? Submission to the new authorities, would have been yielding his life to his enemies, and the enemies of constitutional liberty. A further resistance would have involved his country in civil war. The officers and soldiers of his army would have sustained their general. The friends of order might have rallied around him. But as the champion of liberty, he could not have succeeded. The wild impulses of the period were towards a different goal. He could have conquered only, as Napoleon did in after time, in the character of a military despot. Romance and enthusiasm may regret here, the absence of a catastrophe. Had Lafayette rushed forward, to die or conquer, it would have been more congenial with what the world calls heroism. But his country's good was ever with him the ruling motive. He sought not conquest or glory. The name of Lafayette will be remembered and revered, while that of Napoleon will be condemned or forgotten. Lafayette had done all, short of the sacrifices of life and the consistency of a virtuous character, which he could do for his country.

“Who does the best his circumstance allows,  
Does well, acts nobly—angels could no more.”

He therefore resolved to leave France, for a time, in hopes that the madness of faction would soon subside, and more

favourable circumstances admit of his return. Placing every thing in order in the army, and taking care to make the necessary dispositions in case of attack, he left the army on the morning of the 20th, and directed his way across the enemy's posts towards Holland, with the purpose of thence proceeding to the United States, his second country.

"Lafayette was under the necessity (he states) of observing the greatest secrecy in his departure, in order to avoid increasing the number of his companions in exile, who consisted only of Latour-Maubourg and his two brothers, Bureau de Puzy, his aids-de-camp, and staff officers in the Parisian national guard, and some friends, exposed to certain death in consequence of their participation in his last efforts against anarchy. Fifteen officers of different ranks accompanied him. On arriving at Rochefort, where the party (considerably reduced in number) were stopped, Bureau de Puzy was compelled to go forward and obtain a pass from General Moitelle, in command at Namur. He set out accordingly, but, before he could utter a syllable of explanation, that general exclaimed, 'What, Lafayette? Lafayette?—Run instantly and inform the Duke of Bourbon of it.—Lafayette?—Set out this moment,' addressing one of his officers, and carry this news to his royal highness at Brussels ; and on he went, muttering to himself the word 'Lafayette.' It was not until he had given orders to write to all the princes and generals he could think of, that Puzy could put in his request for a pass, which was of course refused."

Lafayette and his companions, in contravention of all the laws of nations, were treated as prisoners by the Austrian authorities. Liberty was indeed offered to Lafayette, on condition of recanting, not all of his opinions, but that relative to the abolition of the nobility. He refused all compromise of the kind ; and was consigned alternately to the dungeons of Prussia and Austria, in rigid and cruel confinement, for nearly five years. During this period, these monarchs and their minions of cruelty, refused all appeals for the liberation of Lafayette, under the pretext that "his liberty was incompatible with the safety of the present governments of Europe." Sir Walter Scott, who in many respects does injustice to Lafayette, thus speaks of his arrest and imprisonment : "This conduct on the part of the monarchs, however irritated they might be by the recollection of some part of Lafayette's conduct in the outset of the revolution, was neither to be vindicated by morality, the law of nations, nor the rules of sound policy. \* \* \* Even if he had been amenable for a crime against his own country, we know not what right Austria and Prussia had to

take cognizance of it. To them he was a mere prisoner of war and nothing further. Lastly, it is very seldom that a petty and vindictive line of policy can consist with the real interests either of great princes or private individuals. In this present case the arrest of Lafayette was peculiarly the contrary."

At Luxemburg, an attempt was made by a party of royalist emigrants, to assassinate Lafayette. From Luxemburg, Lafayette and his companions were conveyed to Wessel, in Prussia, and imprisoned. He was there dangerously ill. While in a state of debility, he was offered, by direction of the King of Prussia, an amelioration of his imprisonment, provided he would give plans for military operations against France. This base proposal Lafayette rejected with indignation. He was then treated with increased severity. Soon after, the prisoners were conveyed in a cart to Magdeburg. In this prison Lafayette was confined in a dark, damp and narrow dungeon, surrounded by high pallisades, and closed by four massive gates, fastened by iron bolts and chains. His three friends, Latour Maubourg, Bureau de Puzy, and Alexander Lameth shared a similar fate. At the end of a year, they were transferred to Neiss. Shortly after, on the conclusion of peace between Prussia and France, Lameth, at the intercession of friends, was set at liberty. Lafayette was deemed a prize of too much importance, and too dangerous to despotism, to be set free. He was, therefore, with Maubourg and Puzy, delivered over by the King of Prussia to the Austrian government, and transferred to the prison at Olmutz. They were consigned to separate and close cells, on entering which, each of them was given to understand, that "they would never for the future see more than these four surrounding walls ; that they would receive no information about things or persons ; that their jailers were prohibited from pronouncing their names, and that, in the government despatches, they would be referred to merely by their numbers ; that they never would have the satisfaction of knowing the situation of their families, or their reciprocal existence ; and that, as such a situation naturally incited to suicide, knives, forks, and every means of destruction, were to be withheld from them." From these rigid and barbarous rules, there was for a long time little relaxation.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Sympathies in favour of Lafayette—Efforts for his liberation—Generous exertions of Gouverneur Morris—Eloquent appeal of Madame de Staél—Feelings and personal exertions of Gen. Washington—Fate of Madame Lafayette—Her letters and appeals to President Washington—His answers—Popular feeling in the United States in favour of a commission to demand the release of Lafayette—Colonel M'Henry solicits the appointment—Efforts in behalf of Lafayette in Europe—Masclat and his associates—Bollman and Huger's enterprise for the escape of Lafayette—Its partial success—The escape—Their capture and imprisonment—Lafayette treated with increased severity—Bollman and Huger released—Their efforts in the United States—Gen. Washington declines acting officially—Renews his personal efforts—Writes to Mr. Pinckney—His letter to the Emperor of Germany.

MEANWHILE, the fate of Lafayette excited throughout Europe and America the sympathy and indignation of the friends of freedom. To Mr. Short, the resident Minister of the United States at the Hague, Lafayette had, on his first detention, addressed a letter, requesting to be demanded of the Austrian authorities as an American citizen. Mr. Short wrote immediately to Mr. Pinckney, American minister in England, and Mr. Morris, in France, stating the facts of the case, and requesting their advice and co-operation. All agreed that they had no authority to act officially in his behalf; but each individually, during the whole period of the captivity of Lafayette, did all that he could to alleviate his sufferings and procure his liberation. Gouverneur Morris, who, as we have before stated, was opposed to the political views of Lafayette, pursued a prompt, generous, and honourable course, in this unfortunate crisis. Learning that Lafayette, while in the prison of Magdeburg, was distressed for money, Mr. Morris, on his own responsibility, directed the banker of the United States, at Hamburg, to advance him ten thousand florins; which was afterwards allowed by the government, under the head of military compensation to Lafayette. To Madame Lafayette also, while she was confined by order of the French authorities

to her residence at Chevaniac, Mr. Morris loaned from his private funds one hundred thousand livres. He drew for her a petition to the King of Prussia, in which she is made to say, "He in whose favour I implore the mercy of your majesty, has never known crime. Faithful to his king, when he could no longer be of service to him, he left France. At the moment when he was made prisoner, he was crossing the low countries to take refuge in America. He believed himself under protection of the law of nations, and he trusted to it with so much the more confidence, as the generous sentiments of your majesty were not unknown to him. I may perhaps be blind to the character of a beloved husband, but I cannot deceive myself in being persuaded that your majesty will grant the prayer of an unhappy woman." When Madame Lafayette was brought up to Paris and imprisoned, Mr. Morris interceded with the authorities in her behalf; and it was her belief that she owed her life to this intercession.

After he was superseded by Mr. Monroe, as minister in France, Mr. Morris travelled through the north of Europe; and while at Vienna, made an effort to procure the liberation of Lafayette, then confined at Olmutz. In an interview with the Baron de Thugut, Prime Minister of the Emperor of Austria, M. Thugut (Mr. M. states in his diary) contradicted the account of the ill treatment of Lafayette, and expressed a wish that they had never had any thing to do with him. "I solicit (says Mr. M.) his release, but find that it is in vain. He says that probably he will be discharged at the peace. To which I reply, that I never had any doubt of that, \* \* \* but that I wish it were done sooner; and add, that I am sure it would have a very good effect in England, giving my reasons. He says, if England will ask for him, they will be very glad to get rid of him in that way, and that *they* may, if they please, turn him loose in London." This conversation Mr. Morris communicated to Lord Grenville, and urged it upon the British government to act upon the hint, and procure the liberation of Lafayette. But England connived at, if she did not instigate, his unjust detention.

It may, however, be just to record, that Mr. Morris was encouraged, if not influenced, in his efforts to procure the liberation of Lafayette, by the eloquent appeals in his be-

half of Madame de Staél, the celebrated daughter of Necker. In her first letter to Mr. Morris, she says: "What I have to ask of you is so much in accordance with your own feelings, that my letter will only repeat to you their dictates in poorer expressions. You are travelling through Germany, and whether on a publick mission or not, you have influence; for they are not so stupid as not to consult a man like you. Open the prison door of M. de Lafayette. You have already saved his wife from death; deliver the whole family. Pay the debt of your country. What greater service can any one render to his native land, than to discharge her obligations of gratitude? Is there any severer calamity, than that which has befallen Lafayette? Does any more glaring injustice attract the attention of Europe? I speak to you of glory, yet I know a more elevated sentiment is the motive of your conduct."

General Washington, then President of the United States, was deeply afflicted on learning the misfortune of his friend and companion in arms. Before he had ascertained what had become of Madame Lafayette, and with the principal view of being informed of her residence and circumstances, he wrote to her, (Jan. 31, 1793). "If I had words (he said), that could convey to you an adequate idea of my feelings on the present situation of the Marquis de Lafayette, this letter would appear to you in a different garb." He informed Madame Lafayette, that he had deposited in the hands of a banker in Amsterdam, subject to her orders, a sum in Holland currency, equal to two hundred guineas. "This sum (he added) is, I am certain, the least I am indebted for services rendered to me by the Marquis de Lafayette, of which I never yet have received the account. I could add much; but it is best, perhaps, that I should say little on this subject. Your goodness will supply the deficiency."

Soon after this letter was written, President Washington received one from Madame Lafayette, dated at Chavaniac, October 8th, 1792, in which she describes the situation of Lafayette and herself, and thus eloquently and feelingly pleads in his behalf:—

"He was taken by the troops of the Emperour, although the King of Prussia retains him a prisoner in his dominions. And while he suffers this inconceivable persecution from the enemies without, the faction which reigns within keeps me a hostage at one hundred and

twenty leagues from the capital. Judge then at what distance I am from him. In this abyss of misery, the idea of owing to the United States and to Washington the life and liberty of M. de Lafayette kindles a ray of hope in my heart. I hope every thing from the goodness of the people with whom he has set an example of that liberty, of which he is now made the victim. And shall I dare speak what I hope? I would ask of them through you for an envoy, who shall go to reclaim him in the name of the republick of the United States where-soever he may be found, and who shall be authorized to make with the power, in whose charge he may be placed, all necessary engagements for his release, and for taking him to the United States, even if he is there to be guarded as a captive. If his wife and his children could be comprised in this mission, it is easy to judge how happy it would be for her and for them; but, if this would in the least degree retard or embarrass the measure, we will defer still longer the happiness of a reunion. May heaven deign to bless the confidence with which it has inspired me. I hope my request is not a rash one. Accept the homage of the sentiments, which have dictated this letter, as well as that of attachment and tender respect."

To this letter General Washington replied, March 16th, 1793. He expressed the deepest sympathy in the privation of Madame Lafayette, and ardent desires, in the sincerity of friendship, for Lafayette's relief; "in which sentiment (he said) I know that my fellow citizens participate." He expressed a doubt, however, whether the measures she intimated were those which he could pursue, or which were likely to succeed; "but be assured (he said) that I am not inattentive to his condition, nor contenting myself with inactive wishes for his liberation."

Disappointed in not receiving a reply to her first letter as soon as she expected, Madame Lafayette wrote again to General Washington, from Chevaniac, March 13, 1793. She recapitulated the account of her own situation, and that of Lafayette. "But I confess (she said) that your silence, and the abandonment of M. de Lafayette and family for the last six months, are, of all our evils, the most inexplicable to me." "I can do nothing for him. I can neither receive a line from him, or write one to him. Such is the manner in which I am treated." And she expressed a belief, that Lafayette could only be released through the interference of the United States

President Washington was pained and embarrassed by the appeals thus made to him. He answered, as he had done before, briefly and kindly; and to Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, who was about writing to Mr. Morris, he

said: "If it has not been done in a former letter, it would be agreeable to me, that Mr. Morris should be instructed to neglect no favourable opportunity of expressing, *informally*, the sentiments and wishes of this country respecting the Marquis de Lafayette; and I pray you to commit to paper, in answer to the enclosed letter from Madame Lafayette, all the consolation I can with propriety give, consistent with my publick character and the national policy, circumstanced as things are."

Popular feeling was strong in the United States in favour of a mission, such as had been suggested by Madame Lafayette, to require from the Austrian government Lafayette's release; and Col. M'Henry, who had been the aid of Lafayette, applied to President Washington for the appointment, feelingly urging, at the same time, the propriety of the measure. "I perceive (said he) by the act of Congress for discharging his pay during the war, the new obligation you have laid upon your unfortunate friend. If it is possible to go beyond pecuniary aid, or so far as to restore him to liberty and his family, how would he rejoice to owe that blessing to the man he loves most on earth; and what sublime pleasure to me to be an humble instrument of its accomplishment. The friendship he has always expressed for me, the friendship I feel for him, a conviction of the patriotism of his principles and the purity of his motives, the esteem in which he is still held by America, a remembrance of the moment and his youth when he embarked in our cause, all conspire to make such a project peculiarly interesting to the feeling heart."

President Washington, however, did not deem such a step advisable or consistent with the neutral position of the government of the United States. But in answer to Colonel M'Henry he said, "I have only to add, and that in confidence, that every thing which friendship requires, and which I could do without committing my publick character, or involving this country in embarrassments, is and has been for some time in train, though the result is as yet unknown."

Among the generous spirits in Europe, who interested themselves for Lafayette, was Joseph Masclet, then a proscribed resident in England. His efforts, and those of his

associates, are thus related by Cloquet, in his "Private Life of Lafayette :"

"Masclet was not personally acquainted with Lafayette, and had never even seen him; but he shared his political principles and admired his virtues. He was indignant at the perfidious conduct of a government which, contrary to the rights of nations and the laws of humanity, detained such a man a prisoner, and still more indignant against his own country, which permitted such an action, or rather, forgot the most virtuous of her citizens. Having retired with his wife to a country-seat near London, he constantly wrote against the detention of Lafayette, and published his numerous articles in the *Morning Chronicle*, and in the Dutch and Hamburg journals. He had adopted the Greek name of *Eleuthere*, (freeman,) with which he signed his writings in favour of Lafayette. No difficulty, no danger, could deter him in the pursuit of this virtuous, patriotic undertaking. He connected himself with the opposition members of the British Parliament, and associated in his plans for Lafayette's deliverance the friends in whom he reposed most confidence. He made the people of England speak out in reprobation of France, who was indifferent to the unjust captivity of the first of her citizens, and of his noble family, who had buried themselves along with him in the dungeons of Olmutz. Masclet, who, as I have just observed, had obtained the assistance of active and intelligent agents, ended by establishing a correspondence with the prisoners, which, though not regular, acquainted him with their situation, their mode of life, and the ill treatment to which they were subject. He was informed of the steps taken by them to obtain justice, and of the denials of that justice, which were always founded on sophistical reasoning, when their tyrants condescended to give a reason for their refusals. They declared that 'Lafayette's existence was incompatible with the safety of the present governments of Europe.' Austria could allege no other motive for her unjustifiable conduct.

"Throughout his long and perilous undertaking, Masclet was inspired merely by humanity, justice, and superior reason. The undertaking was really perilous; for Austria, exasperated at finding no supporter in the British Parliament, and at seeing herself unmasked before the eyes of Europe, which was gradually roused to indignation by the scenes of Olmutz, had sent several emissaries to London to discover the Eleuthere who braved her anger, reiterated his complaints, assumed every form, and multiplied himself, as it were, to obtain the justice which he demanded in the name of the rights of nations and of humanity. But the efforts of the Austrian cabinet were ineffectual to discover Eleuthere. To justify her act, Austria endeavoured to persuade Europe of the kindness with which she treated her victims, and she accordingly published a manifesto, enumerating her humane proceedings towards them. Masclet published a vigorous refutation of the manifesto, and revealed the whole truth, stating the different circumstances, which you will find in General Latour Maubourg's narrative. The refutation was supported by a letter from M. de Noailles, a relative of Madame Lafayette.

"In 1795, Barthelemy, who was then ambassador from France to Switzerland, had also made pressing applications to the ministers of foreign powers, in favour of the prisoners, and had been seconded by De Witt, the minister of the Batavian republick at Bale. The most distinguished opposition members in England, Fox, Wilberforce, Sheridan, and at their head General Fitzpatrick, supported by General Tarleton, who had fought against Lafayette in Virginia, pleaded forcibly, and struggled courageously against the Pitt ministry, and the calumniators of Lafayette, and of his companions in misfortune. They were seconded by the publications of Masclet, and by those of the most illustrious writers in Germany. It was on the 16th December, 1796, that General Fitzpatrick, in the English House of commons, made, in favour of the prisoners of Olmutz, that eloquent speech which produced so much sensation in Europe, and which terminated in the following motion :—' That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to represent to his majesty, that it appears to this House, that the detention of General Lafayette, Bureau de Puzy, and Latour Maubourg, in the prison of his majesty's ally, the Emperor of Germany, is highly injurious to his imperial majesty, and to the common cause of the allies; and humbly to implore his majesty to intercede, in such manner as to his wisdom shall seem most proper, for the deliverance of these unfortunate persons.'

But there are no events connected with the imprisonment of Lafayette, more honourable and interesting than the enterprise of Bollman and Huger, in the year 1794, to effect his escape from Olmutz.

J. Erick Bollman was a young German physician, about twenty-four years of age, who had just obtained his degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Gottingen. He was an enthusiastick admirer of the character of Lafayette, and hearing of his unjust imprisonment, resolved to attempt his rescue. He set off on foot, with slender means derived from the sale of his books, for Hamburg. He had letters of introduction to some of the best families, and thus was made acquainted with a wealthy merchant and banker, by the name of Sieveking, who was also a warm friend of Lafayette. Sieveking entered into the project of the young enthusiast, supplied him with money, and a letter of introduction and credit to his confidential friend, Hirsch, a banker at Olmutz. Bollman repaired to Olmutz, and found Hirsch willing to aid in the undertaking, so far as his position and personal safety would permit. It was, however, necessary that he should have physical assistance, as well as money and advice; and, after remaining at Olmutz several days, without being able to communicate with Lafayette, to avoid the suspicions of the police, and in hopes to find some one

to share his enterprise, Bollman repaired to Vienna. There he met with a kindred spirit, one predisposed by patriotick sympathies, by the ties of country and of kindred, to favour the noble effort he contemplated. That person was FRANCIS HUGER, son of Col. Huger, of South Carolina, at whose house Lafayette was first entertained on landing in America. No sooner did Bollman hint his purpose, than young Huger embraced it fervently, and assured Bollman that he would aid him in serving the illustrious friend of his father and his country, in any manner and at all hazards. Providing themselves with three good horses and a servant, and travelling, Huger in the character of a young Englishman in search of health, and Bollman as his attendant physician, they traversed the frontiers of Austria, examined with care the roads by which an escape from Olmutz might be effected ; and arrived at Olmutz in the month of September.

In the mean time the banker, Hirsch, sought for a mode of communicating with Lafayette. He cast his thoughts upon the head surgeon of the garrison, (Kreutschke) who occasionally visited Lafayette, and was supposed to be favourably inclined towards him. Hirsch invited the doctor, who was his friend and physician, to dine with him, and in conversation inquired carelessly about the health of Lafayette, who he understood to be unwell, adding, that he hoped he would not recover, as he richly deserved to die. The doctor gazed for a few moments with astonishment, and replied : "Hirsch, I should not have believed that of you ! Is this the way you slander a brave man, whose only crime has been a wish to see his country free and happy ? And must I, a true hearted Bohemian, must I submit to such an indignity ? Hirsch ! Hirsch ! you have shamefully deceived me !" Hirsch, highly gratified with these sentiments, then said : "But of what service are all these fine words, when no one can, and no one will, do any thing for him ? Whether Lafayette be as criminal, or not, as they represent him to be, is of very little consequence ; for he must die soon, if he remains in prison !" At this, Kreutschke started up in great agitation, and strode up and down the room without speaking.

An explanation and an understanding of each other's views followed. The physician agreed to become the medium of communication with Lafayette, if possible, and in

that way aid in his liberation. A few days thereafter, Kreutschke visited Lafayette professionally, and while pretending to feel his pulse, in the presence of the superintendent of the prison and officer of the guard, secretly slipped into the hand of Lafayette a note, which hinted to him the project for his escape. Lafayette was greatly agitated, turned pale, and grasped the note convulsively, which confirmed to the officers present the remarks of the doctor, that the prisoner was very ill, required to be bled, and needed exercise. This they reported to the governour; and it was no more than the truth, for the health of Lafayette had become, by long confinement and rigorous treatment, greatly impaired.

Through the intercession of Kreutschke, the governour soon granted leave to Lafayette to ride out occasionally into the country, for the restoration of his health; but he was always accompanied by an officer and an armed guard, to prevent his escape. Watching their opportunity, according to the plan which had been arranged, Bollman and Huger, a little before the time (five o'clock, P. M.) when Lafayette usually rode, mounted on horseback, rode into the country, as they were accustomed to do, daily, as though for recreation. They took the road which Lafayette and his escort were expected to pass. When the carriage containing Lafayette and the officer, with a guard mounted behind, appeared, the young men rode slow, that the carriage might pass them. When opposite, Bollman drew from his pocket a white handkerchief; Lafayette did the same, that being the signal of recognition agreed upon, as neither Bollman nor Huger knew, or were known to, Lafayette personally. After passing the young men, and about two miles from the city, Lafayette and the officer left the carriage, and pursued their way on foot. Lafayette, under some pretext, as had been agreed, went a little distance ahead, when Bollman and Huger rushed forward, intending to mount him behind one of them: they had omitted to bring a third horse, for fear of exciting suspicion. The officer and guard, however, came up before they could effect that object, and a violent struggle ensued. In the contest, Huger's horse escaped; the guard seized Lafayette's hand with his mouth, and, in endeavouring to extricate himself, Lafayette tore the flesh to the bone from one of his fingers.

At length his courageous deliverers succeeded in mounting him, some accounts say, behind Bollman; but that which seems the most probable, says, that he was mounted alone, on Bollman's horse; that he lingered, unwilling to leave his young friends in the hands of their adversaries; when they urged him to make his escape, and Huger said to him in English, "Go to *Hoff*," where their servant had been sent to provide a carriage to take them out of the kingdom. Lafayette understood him to say, "*go off*;" and started, without comprehending the place of rendezvous. Night approached; the horse fell with him; he was sadly bruised and suffered great pain. His appearance excited suspicion, when he asked the way, and endeavoured to procure a guide. He was detained by a party of peasants; carried before a magistrate, and recognized the next day by an officer from Olmutz.

Bollman and Huger soon got rid of the officer and guard, who hastened back to the citadel, and caused the alarm guns to be fired. Huger's horse was recovered, and both mounted and attempted thus to follow Lafayette. The restiveness of the horse, under such a burthen, and their slow progress, soon induced them to abandon this joint effort, and Bollman proceeded alone. Huger was taken by a peasant, who from the field where he was ploughing had witnessed the whole affair. Bollman proceeded to *Hoff*, and having lingered for a day, in hope of the arrival of Lafayette, was there taken. All three of them were brought back separately to Olmutz, and thrown into prison, without being permitted to know each other's fate. These events occurred the forepart of November, 1794.

The treatment of Lafayette was, after the failure of this generous effort to effect his escape, much more severe. But great as were his sufferings from his wounds, his close confinement within the damp and gloomy walls of a narrow cell, and the brutality and insolence of his jailers, his greatest agony arose from apprehensions on account of his deliverers. To add to his anxiety, M. Arco, the commanding general, tauntingly said to him: "The rogues, who were so bold as to carry you off, are arrested. They shall be hung. It shall be under your window; and, if there is no executioner, I will do that office myself."

Bollman and Huger, however, after a rigorous confine-

ment of eight months, were, through the intercession of their friends, liberated by the Austrian government. Still interesting themselves actively for Lafayette, they went to the United States. Bollman had an interview with President Washington, and wrote to him a letter, dated Philadelphia, April 11, 1796, in which he urged *an immediate interference* by the United States, to procure the liberation of Lafayette. President Washington reiterated to Doctor Bollman, and to the Duke of Liancourt, who about the same time made a similar application, his conviction that the law of nations and the policy of the government prohibited any official interference on his part. But he renewed his personal efforts in Lafayette's behalf. To Mr. Pinckney, then in Europe, General Washington wrote, under date of 20th February, 1796. After stating that nothing certain had been learned of the fate of Lafayette, since the attempt of Bollman and Huger, both of whom were then in that city, he said :

" I need hardly mention how much my sensibility has been hurt by the treatment this gentleman has met with, or how anxious I am to see him liberated therefrom ; but what course to pursue, as most likely and proper to aid the measure, is not quite so easy to decide on. As President of the United States, there must be a commitment of the government by any interference of mine ; and it is no easy matter in a transaction of this nature for a publick character to assume the garb of a private citizen, in a case that does not relate to himself. Yet such is my wish to contribute my mite to accomplish this desirable object, that I have no objection to its being made known to the Imperial ambassador in London, who, if he thinks proper, may communicate it to his court, that this event is an ardent wish of the people of the United States, to which I sincerely add mine. The time, the manner, and even the measure itself, I leave to your discretion ; as circumstances, and every matter which concerns this gentleman, are better known on that, then they are on this side of the Atlantick."

Gen. Washington also addressed the following letter to the Emperour of Germany :

" Philadelphia, 15th May, 1796.

" It will readily occur to your majesty, that occasions may sometimes exist, on which official considerations would constrain the chief of a nation to be silent and passive, in relation even to objects which affect his sensibility, and claim his interposition as a man. Finding myself precisely in this situation at present, I take the liberty of writing this private letter to your majesty, being persuaded that my motives will also be my apology for it.

" In common with the people of this country, I retain a strong and cordial sense of the services rendered to them by the Marquis de La-

fayette ; and my friendship for him has been constant and sincere. It is natural, therefore, that I should sympathize with him and his family in their misfortunes, and endeavour to mitigate the calamities which they experience ; among which, his present confinement is not the least distressing.

“ I forbear to enlarge on this delicate subject. Permit me only to submit to your majesty’s consideration, whether his long imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estates, and the indigence and dispersion of his family, and the painful anxieties incident to all these circumstances, do not form an assemblage of sufferings, which recommend him to the mediation of humanity ? Allow me, Sir, on this occasion to be its organ ; and to entreat, that he may be permitted to come to this country, on such conditions and under such restrictions, as your majesty may think it expedient to prescribe.

“ As it is a maxim with me not to ask what, under similar circumstances, I would not grant, your majesty will do me the justice to believe, that this request appears to me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom, which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory.

“ May the Almighty and Merciful Sovereign of the universe keep your majesty under his protection and guidance.”

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

Madame Lafayette set at liberty— Sends her son, George Washington Lafayette, to America—He is kindly received by President Washington, and publickly by Congress—Madame Lafayette is aided by Mr. Monroe— She repairs to Vienna—Has an interview with the Emperour of Austria—Is permitted, and nobly determines to share, with her daughters, the imprisonment of Lafayette at Olmutz— Maubourg’s account of it referred to—The daughters of Lafayette—They alleviate the gloom of his prison—Mademoiselle Anastasic’s Sketch of the Jailer of Olmutz—The faithful Felix—Victorious career of the French armies—Gratifying to Lafayette—Napoleon, the hero and conqueror—The first spark of his ambition kindled—Stipulates at Leoben for the release of Lafayette and his companions—Dishonourable conditions imposed by Austria—Lafayette refuses them—Bonaparte suspects the duplicity of Austria—Sends Romeuf to demand Lafayette’s liberation—His final release—Is delivered to the American consul at Hamburg—His residence in Holstein—Returns to France--The First Consul desires to gain him—Lafayette is grateful to Napoleon, but suspects him of ambitious designs—Refuses the office of senator—Retires from the army--Refuses to vote for Napoleon as consul for life...His letter explanatory.

MEANWHILE the chief instigators of the “ Reign of Terror,” had successively fallen—Marat by the hands of a

heroick female (Charlotte Corday), and Danton and Robespierre by that fatal instrument, the guillotine, to which they and their accomplices had consigned so many victims. A few months after the death of Robespierre, Madame Lafayette, who had been a second time brought up to Paris and imprisoned, was set at liberty. She had suffered much. During the brief and bloody period of the worst system of tyranny that the world ever witnessed, which spared neither age nor sex, she had beheld many of her kindred and friends, among whom were her grandmother, mother and sister, perish on the scaffold, and was in hourly expectation of being herself led forth to execution. How justly did the talented and beautiful Madame Roland exclaim, when brought to the guillotine, "O, Liberty ! what crimes are they committing in thy name !"

As soon as Madame Lafayette was released from prison, she made arrangements to solicit in person the liberation of her husband, or to share, if she could not alleviate, the rigours of his fate. Previous to her departure, she sent her son, George Washington Lafayette, then about eighteen years of age, to seek an asylum in America. He arrived at Boston, under the assumed name of Mortier, accompanied by his tutor, M. Frestel, about the first of September, 1795. He immediately apprised President Washington of his arrival. The feelings of President Washington, on receiving this information, are shown in a letter to Mr. Cabot, dated September 7th. "To express (he said) all the sensibility which has been excited in my breast by the receipt of young Lafayette's letter, from the recollection of his father's merits, services, and sufferings, from my friendship for him, and from my wishes to become a friend and father to his son, is unnecessary. Let me in a few words declare, that I will be his friend ; but the manner of becoming so, considering the obnoxious light in which his father is viewed by the French government, and my own situation as the executive of the United States, requires more time to consider, in all its relations, than I can bestow on it at present."

Gen. Washington requested Mr. Cabot to express his views to young Lafayette, and to administer "all the consolation to the young gentleman that he could derive from the most unequivocal assurances of my standing in the place of, and becoming to him, a father, friend, protector

and supporter." He recommended a plan of education, and that the young man should enter, for a short time, as a student at Cambridge, the expense of which, as also of every other means for his support, he (Washington) would pay. He added, " My friendship for his father, so far from being diminished, has increased in the ratio of his misfortunes ; and my inclination to serve the son, will be evinced by my conduct." This pledge to the son of his friend, Washington fully redeemed ; although he did not publicly acknowledge and receive him till some time thereafter. On the 18th of March, the United States House of Representatives passed the following resolution and order :

" Information having been given to this House, that the son of Gen. Lafayette is now within the United States,

" Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the truth of the said information, and report thereon, and what measures it would be proper to take, if the same be true, to evince the grateful sense entertained by this country for the services of his father."

Mr. Edward Livingston, chairman of the committee, wrote to the young man, and advised his immediate appearance at Philadelphia, " that the Legislature of America (he said) may no longer be in doubt, whether the son of Lafayette is under their protection and within the reach of their gratitude." With commendable delicacy and discretion, young Lafayette asked the advice of General Washington, who had previously written to him, and thereupon repeated the invitation, that he should proceed immediately to Philadelphia, and to his house, where a room was prepared for him and his preceptor. Thus publicly recognised, the son of Lafayette entered the family of Washington, in which he remained, treated with the kindness and affection of a son, until the liberation of his father from Olmutz.

To Madame Lafayette herself, Mr. Munroe, who had succeeded Mr. Morris as American minister in France, rendered every attention and assistance in his power. He furnished her with an American passport, under the name of Mortier. He supplied her with money, and gave and procured for her letters of recommendation and credit. He had advanced to her before she left France, nearly two thousand dollars. " I assured her, (he wrote to General Washington) when she left France, there was no service

within my power to render her and her husband and family; that I would not with pleasure render them; to count upon my utmost efforts and command them in their favour; that it was your wish and the wish of America that I should do so—to consult her husband as to the mode and means, and apprise me of his opinion thereon. She departed, grateful to you and our country."

Madame Lafayette, accompanied by her two daughters, Anastasie, aged sixteen, and Virginia, aged fourteen years, pursued her arduous journey to Vienna, where she arrived safe, in the month of September, 1795. The Prince of Rozenberg, touched with her virtues, interested himself in her behalf, and procured for her an audience with the Emperour. He refused her solicitations to liberate Lafayette, but granted her permission, with her daughters, to share his imprisonment. What was the joy of Lafayette, at the unexpected appearance of his wife and children, respecting whose fate he had so long been ignorant and fearfully anxious! And what must have been the sensations of the mother and daughters, on beholding the wretched and debilitated appearance of the husband and father!

After enduring for sixteen months the gloom of a nauseous prison, the health of Madame Lafayette became seriously impaired. She wrote to the Emperour of Austria, requesting leave to visit Vienna, for a short time, for the benefit of purer air, and to consult a physician. After two months' silence, the answer came. She was prohibited from appearing in Vienna, but was permitted to leave the fortress, on the condition of never returning. Her determination being required in writing, she nobly declared, that whatever might be the state of her health, or the inconvenience of the residence to her daughters, they would continue to share the captivity of her husband, "in all its details." These were sufficiently severe and trying; and the reader who has that desire, may find an interesting account of them, in a letter of Gen. Maubourg, Cloquet's *Private Life of Lafayette*, Vol. 1, p. 74, &c.

The prison of Olmutz had been an ancient Jesuit convent; and the massive cells were converted into gloomy and narrow dungeons. General and Madame Lafayette occupied, (according to Maubourg's account) two small cells, their daughters but a narrow dog-hole, with a single wretched

bed ; while Puzy and himself, in addition to the common inconveniences, had those attached to the neighbourhood of the guards and of the privies, the dampness of which was such, that the wall touching them was covered with saltpetre. For a few hours in the day Lafayette was permitted to have his family with him ; but at an early hour they were separated and confined to their respective cells for the night. With Maubourg and Puzy he was allowed no communication ; and numerous guards were maintained within and without, to prevent all intercourse and intelligence. Their watches, razors, penknives, and all articles of trifling convenience, were taken from them, and they were denied the use of paper, pen and ink. The zeal and intelligence of their faithful servants, Felix and Jules, devised modes for them occasionally to communicate. Their food was of the coarsest kind, impregnated in cooking with tobacco, served in dirty dishes, and they were obliged to eat it with a pewter spoon, being deprived of the use of knives or forks. Their dress—but let us see General Maubourg's description of it :

“ You ask how we are dressed ?—Like beggars ; that is to say, in rags, since our worn out clothes have not been replaced. Lafayette, however, wanted breeches, and I have been informed that a tailor was ordered, without taking his measure, to make a large pair of trousers for him, and a waistcoat of coarse serge, at the same time informing him that cloth was too dear for him ; I believe that the garment alluded to was purposely made in such a manner as to prevent him from wearing it, and that Madame Lafayette supplied the deficiency, by purchasing cloth on some pretext or other. In the articles of shoes and stockings, he is strangely provided, for those which he wears, Mademoiselle Anastasie was obliged to make with her own fair hands, out of the stuff of an old coat. For my own part, I wear a waistcoat and nankin trousers made at Nievelle, and you may therefore judge of the state of maturity at which they have arrived. Were I to make my appearance in the street, any charitable soul would offer me alms. Three months ago, however, I was supplied with new shoes. The old ones had been soled and resoled thirteen times, and for the new ones I was indebted merely to the obstinacy of the cobbler, who found it utterly impossible to perform the operation for the fourteenth time. While my shoes were being made, I was obliged to remain in bed.”

These sketches convey but a very imperfect idea of the many acts of privation, surveillance and oppression, which the heroick wife of Lafayette resolved to share with him, at the hazard of health and life, in the prison to which des-

potism had consigned him. His youthful and lovely daughters, too, resigned without a murmur the pleasures of society, and devoted the spring-time of life to diffuse, by their wit and beauty and affection, a ray of happiness around the dungeon walls. Attentive, in all things within their power, to alleviate the cares of their parents, these young ladies lost not for a moment their natural buoyancy of spirit. They continued gay and cheerful, and fertile of innocent expedients to beguile the tedious hours of imprisonment, and to "light up a smile in the aspect of wo," by turning the petty annoyances of their jailers into ridicule. The major and lieutenant, having command of the guards and jailers of the prison, and whom Maubourg describes as surpassing in brutality the negro-drivers in the Antilles and the slave-drivers in Constantinople, had under them a turnkey, a sort of Calliban or Cerberus, "an old corporal, decorated with the title of *prevot*, very stupid and very timorous, but also very covetous." Fancying the old corporal to be a fit subject for the pencil, Mademoiselle Anastasie one day undertook to sketch his portrait. As he was not of a temperament to sit patiently for his picture, she was obliged, to avoid observation, to sketch it upon her thumb nail; which she accomplished, very accurately, and at the first opportunity transferred it to paper. The annexed sketch was taken by Cloquet, from a copy then at Lagrange.

The corporal "is represented in the act of opening the door of the prison which looks upon the corridor, and which is secured above and below with crossed bars provided with padlocks. His half bald head is uncovered; his few remaining hairs are collected into a little queue, which is ludicrously turned aside over his shoulder;\*" and he advances with the stealthy pace of a timid individual, who lends an attentive ear to some fancied noise. In one hand he holds a bunch of large keys, one of which he directs mechanically towards the lock; in the other hand he holds one of those beaked lamps which are much used in Germany, and its dim light is reflected on his visage. A stick, which serves for self-defence, or the chastisement of offenders, is attached to his wrist by a leathern strap; his little three-cornered

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\* On this account, probably, the prisoners gave him the name of Cataquois: his real name was Colomba.

hat is squeezed flat under his arm ; his sabre is fastened to his side by a girdle ; his waistcoat, breeches, wide boots,



and in fact, the whole of his attire, show that he is in undress, and his knees seem to bend, not so much under the weight of years as under the influence of cowardice."

Virtue and fidelity are the same inestimable qualities in every rank and station. Nor are they the less valuable as examples to mankind, from being exhibited in the humble walks of life. The name of the faithful 'Felix,' therefore, who voluntarily shared the imprisonment of Lafayette, should never be separated by the historian and biographer,

from that of his illustrious friend and patron. Cloquet states, that—

"Felix Pontonnier was attached to Lafayette as secretary, and was arrested along with him. He was then very young, as he had scarcely attained his 16th year. After his arrest, he was charged to look after the effects of the prisoners, from whom he was entirely separated for several days. He was no longer guarded, and might have escaped; but he would have blushed at such an act of weakness, and of his own accord he joined Lafayette, to whom, during the whole of his captivity he gave every proof of attachment and devotion. His intelligence and ability were always at work, whenever any hope was presented of accomplishing his protector's escape; or when the rigours of his captivity were to be assuaged. His inventive genius was constantly employed in discovering means of establishing a correspondence between the prisoners, in enabling them to acquaint each other with their respective situations, to communicate their thoughts, to deceive their jailers, to send intelligence to their friends who were occupied with their deliverance, or to hear from them in return. He had composed a particular language, known only to himself and the rest of the prisoners; he had also conceived the idea of a language made up of gestures, and of the various expressions of the countenance, and the key to this language was possessed by the prisoners alone. On some occasions, he whistled notes like a captive bird, with various modulations, which intimated to the prisoners all that they were interested in learning. His health was often seriously endangered, and once especially, on being surprised in the commission of some supposed offence, he was condemned for three months to solitary imprisonment, in darkness the most profound, and allowed no other food during that period than black bread and water. Nothing could equal the devotion of Felix Pontonnier to the prisoners, except, perhaps, the gratitude that Lafayette and his children ever felt for this honourable and courageous individual. For many years he directed the agricultural labours at Lagrange with equal probity and success, and afterward established himself a Fontenay, (in the department of *Seine et Marne*;) where he is now collector of taxes."

While anarchy and discord were working their fearful and frequent changes in the internal government of France, her armies were every where victorious against the powerful combinations of her internal and external enemies. Of the state and progress of affairs, Lafayette, in his prison at Olmutz, was sometimes, in spite of the vigilance of his jailers, secretly advised by his friends. He deplored the excesses which were committed in the name of liberty; but, a true patriot, cherishing the honour and independence of his country above all other considerations, he rejoiced at the successful resistance of the brave soldiers of the republick, to the efforts of foreign dictation. In accordance with this

honourable sympathy, Lafayette was soon to be indebted to the victorious march of the armies of his country, for his restoration to liberty. Napoleon Bonaparte had established his name, first among the heroes of the day. He had aided in curbing the turbulent spirits of Paris, and restoring a degree of order from the chaos of anarchy. Thus had he, unconsciously, laid the foundation of his own power. The "conqueror of Italy"—at the bridge of Lodi the first spark of his ambition was kindled.\* He had assumed to himself the office of a negotiator, and in dictating at Leoben, April 15th, 1797, the preliminaries of peace to Austria, the conqueror, of his own accord, and highly to his credit, stipulated for the release of Lafayette and his companions, Maubourg and Puzy, from the prison of Olmutz. The directory sanctioned the demand, and it was from time to time perseveringly urged upon the Austrian government. Reluctant to yield up their prey, the court of Vienna, in July, accompanied an offer of their liberty to the prisoners with dishonourable conditions. Although they had suffered in loathsome confinement for five years, neither of them would accept the proposed terms. Lafayette accompanied his refusal with the following declaration :

*"Olmutz, July 25, 1797.*

"The commission with which the Marquis de Chasteler is intrusted, appears to me to reduce itself to three points. 1st. His imperial majesty wishes to have a statement of our situation at Olmutz. I am disposed to present no complaint to him. Several details will be found in my wife's letters, transmitted or sent back by the Austrian government; and should his imperial majesty not consider it sufficient to re-read the instructions sent from Vienna in his name, I will willingly furnish the Marquis de Chasteler with all the information he may desire. 2dly. His majesty the emperour wishes to be assured, that immediately after my liberation, I shall set out for America. That intention I have often expressed; but as an answer would, under present circumstances, appear like an acknowledgement of the right to impose on me such a condition, I think it inexpedient to comply with the demand. 3dly. His majesty the emperour and king has done me the honour to announce to me, that as the principles which I profess are incompatible with the safety of the Austrian government, he cannot consent to my return to his states, without his

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\* "Vendemaire and M'ntenotte," said the Emperour, "never induced me to look on myself as a man of a superior class; it was not till after Lodi that I was struck with the possibility of becoming famous. It was then that the first spark of my ambition was kindled." *—Las Cases.*

special permission. There are certain duties, the fulfilment of which I cannot decline. I have some towards the United States, I have others towards France--I cannot, under any circumstances, shrink from the performance of those which I owe to my country. With this reservation, I can assure General, the Marquis de Chasteler, of my fixed determination never to set foot in any state, subject to his imperial majesty the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

"LAFAYETTE."

The prisoners were detained, although the Austrian ambassadors affirmed at the head-quarters of the army of Italy, that they had been liberated. Bonaparte, suspecting the duplicity, despatched M. Romeuf, formerly aid-de-camp to Lafayette, to have a direct explanation with the Baron Thugut, prime minister of Austria. Napolean often remarked, that of all the negotiations he had with foreign powers, that was the most difficult, so great was their repugnance to let go their prey. At length the persevering efforts of Romeuf, backed by the firm demands of the victorious Napoleon, succeeded, and Lafayette and his companions were, on the 23d of September, 1797, released from their captivity. They were conducted to Hamburg, where, agreeably to the stipulations, they were delivered into the hands of the American consul. This ceremony, which was a formal act of delivery of the prisoners, in person, by the Austrian minister, to Mr. Parish, the American consul, took place on the 4th of October. Gouverneur Morris was present, and relates, that the Baron Thugut stated in his letter to the Austrian minister, that "Lafayette was not liberated at the instance of France, but merely to show the Emperour's consideration for the United States of America." This was but a pretence of the proud Austrian premier, to court the good will of one power, and disguise his humiliating submission to another. A few days thereafter, at Campo-Formio, when the Austrian commissioner equivocated about the terms of the treaty, Bonaparte, seizing a valuable tea service which stood upon the sideboard, a present from the great Catharine to the commissioner, (Count Cobentzel,) dashed it upon the floor, exclaiming, "War is declared, but remember, that, in less than three months, I will demolish your monarchy as I dash in pieces this porcelain." The ultimatum was immediately signed; and the definite treaty of Campo-Formio was next day (October 17) executed. "One of the conditions of that treaty (says

Thiers, continued from the preliminaries of Leoben), was the release of Lafayette, who had for five years heroically endured his imprisonment at Olmutz."

Mr. Morris, and other Americans at Hamburg, received Lafayette with every mark of kindness and distinction. An entertainment was given to him and his companions on board of an American vessel. He also called promptly to pay his respects to the French minister, and a splendid entertainment was given by the minister on the occasion, at which Lafayette and his companions in bondage, appeared with the tri-coloured cockade which he himself had originated as the badge of the French nation. Lafayette also wrote to Bonaparte, to Gen. Clarke, who was associated with him in the negotiations with Austria, and to M. Talleyrand, minister of foreign relations at Paris, acknowledging the obligations he was under to them individually, and to the government of the directory, for his liberation.

Having thus obeyed the impulse of his grateful feelings, Lafayette sought for a temporary asylum for himself and family; for although the government of the directory had interested itself for his liberation, it had not invited his return. His property was under confiscation, and he himself still under the decree of proscription, which was passed against him in the reign of the Jacobins. The health of Madame Lafayette was greatly impaired, and required care and repose. Lafayette repaired with his wife and daughter to Holstein, a neutral territory subject to the King of Denmark. Here he was soon joined by his son, George Washington Lafayette, who had left America immediately after hearing of the probability of his father's liberation. He brought with him a congratulatory letter from Washington to Lafayette, in which the character and deportment of the son were highly commended. "His conduct (said Washington) since he first set his feet on American ground, has been exemplary in every point of view, such as has gained him the esteem, affection, and confidence of all who have had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His filial affection and duty, and his ardent desire to embrace his parents and sisters in the first moments of their release, would not allow him to wait the authentick account of this much desired event. But at the same time that I suggested the propriety of this, I could not withhold my assent to the gratification

of his wishes to fly to the arms of those whom he holds most dear."

Lafayette was thus once more surrounded by his amiable family. His friends and companions in exile, Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy, and their families, were settled in the same quiet country. He enjoyed, with them, in retirement, that peace of mind which is the reward of conscious rectitude. Writing at this time to Masclet, upon the subject of the recent events in France, he repeats the principle which had ever actuated him, and "in which (he said) I have been confirmed by experience, that liberty can and ought to be assisted only by means worthy of her." Anastasie, the eldest daughter of Lafayette, was here united to Charles de Latour Maubourg, brother to the companion and fellow-prisoner of Lafayette. Two English ladies, admirers of the character of Lafayette, had bequeathed to him a legacy of four thousand pounds sterling, which was to revert, in case of the general's death, to his widow and children. This legacy was transmitted to him, at his residence in Holstein, and came providentially to replenish his exhausted finances.

In this retreat, enjoying the hospitality and friendship of the most distinguished, as well as the most humble, families, and devoting his time to literature and to obtaining knowledge and experience in the several branches of agriculture, Lafayette passed nearly two years. In the mean time he contemplated a visit to the United States, and informed General Washington of his intention. But owing to the difficulties that existed between the French directory and the American government, and the high state of party feeling in the United States, Gen. Washington in reply, advised him to postpone his visit, until the differences between the two countries were adjusted, and harmony between the nations was restored. From Holstein Lafayette proceeded to Holland, on the special invitation of the Batavian republic, where, in gratitude for his former services rendered to that state, and to the proscribed Dutch in 1787, he was received with the kindest attentions. Here he learned the memorable events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire (9th and 10th of November, 1799)—the overthrow of the directorial government, and the establishment of the consulate, with the victorious Napoleon at its head—the end of anarchy,

the beginning of despotism. Lafayette saw in this change the promise of personal safety. Anxious, therefore, to be restored to the bosom of his country, he ventured, although his name had not yet been erased from the proscribed list, to return with his family to France, and to repair at once to Paris.

The First Consul held in high respect the virtues of Lafayette, and was anxious to attach the hero of two worlds to his views and interests. On presenting himself before the Council of Ancients, to accept, on the 18th of Brumaire, the military command, Bonaparte had pledged himself to sustain the republick. "We will (he exclaimed) have the republick. We will have it founded on genuine liberty, on the representative system. We will have it, I swear, in my own name and in the name of my companions in arms." "We all swear it," repeated the generals and officers of his staff, by whom he was accompanied to the bar. Lafayette hoped that these declarations were sincere. He was grateful for the part which Bonaparte had taken in procuring his liberation. But his intercourse with the conqueror of Italy did not inspire confidence. Their views were materially different. Bonaparte was the friend of liberty, for himself. He was the foe to oppression while he himself was among the oppressed. He was opposed to all despotick power which he could not control or exercise. Lafayette loved liberty, not only for himself, but for all mankind. He hated oppression, whoever might be its victims. He condemned despotism, wherever found, and scorned to exercise himself the unjust power which he resisted or condemned in others. The principle of the one was selfishness, governed by ambition: that of the other, patriotism, exalted by philanthropy.

M. Bignon, in his history of the period, remarks, that "the intercourse between the First Consul and Lafayette was for some time maintained on an amicable footing. They oftener than once had conversations of three or four hours duration. To General Bonaparte, M. de Lafayette was already a character of past history. In the comrade of Washington, in the old commander of the national guard of 1789, he honoured virtues which did not belong to his practice. He had already, as he did again at a subsequent period, manifested a wish to attach Lafayette to his government; but the latter was not inclined to comply with

that wish. While the First Consul grew in greatness, and unfortunately in power, General Lafayette continued in retirement, the worshipper of liberty."

Lafayette had been restored to his privileges as a citizen, and to his rank as a general in the French armies. When (in May 1802) Napoleon, in his progress towards the splendour and power of despotism, had caused the Legion of Honour to be instituted, and soon after had constituted a Senate, with extensive privileges and rich endowments, he caused several offers to be made to Lafayette of a seat in that favoured body. They were declined. Bonaparte at length made the offer in person. Lafayette still declined, in a manner which appeared satisfactory to the First Consul. He soon after retired from the army. In his letter to the minister, he said: "Connected from their commencement with those institutions which have triumphed in Europe, united by the ties of affection to the generals of the republic, I have ever been their comrade, but I pretend not, after so many victims, to be their rival. I beg, then, if you think I ought to be put on the retired list, to have the goodness to request it of the First Consul." And yet, at that time Lafayette was in poverty. His income, which once amounted to 200,000 francs per year, then scarcely amounted to 10,000. The offices proffered by Napoleon would have restored him to wealth, title, and what the world calls *honours*. He preferred independence of principle and consistency of character.

Within the same year, Lafayette was to exhibit new proof of his firmness and integrity. Through the subserviency of the legislative branches, the question of appointing Bonaparte First Consul for life, was submitted to and sanctioned by the French people. Called upon to vote on this question, Lafayette did so in these terms: "I cannot vote for such a magistracy, until publick liberty has been sufficiently guaranteed. Then will I give my vote to Napoleon Bonaparte." He addressed also to the First Consul the following memorable letter :

"General—when a man, penetrated with the gratitude which he owes you, and too much alive to glory not to admire yours, has placed restrictions on his suffrage, those restrictions will be so much the less suspected when it is known, that none more than himself, would delight to see you chief magistrate for life of a free republick. The

18th brumaire saved France, and I felt that I was recalled by the liberal professions to which you have attached your honour. We afterwards beheld in the consular power, that restorative dictatorship, which, under the auspices of your genius, has achieved such great things, less great, however, than will be the restoration of liberty. It is impossible that you, general, the first in that order of men, (whom, to quote and compare it, would require me to retrace every age of history,) can wish such a revolution, so many victories, so much blood and miseries, should produce to the world and to ourselves no other result than an arbitrary system. The French people have too well known their rights, to have entirely forgotten them. But perhaps they are better enabled to recover them now with advantage than in the heat of effervescence; and you, by the power of your character and the publick confidence, by the superiority of your talents, your situation, and your fortune, may, by re-establishing liberty, subdue our dangers and calm our inquietudes. I have no other than patriotick and personal motives in wishing for you as the climax of our glory, a permanent magistrative post; but it is in unity with my principles, my engagements, the actions of my whole life, to ascertain before I vote, that liberty is established on bases worthy of the nation and of you. I hope you will now acknowledge, general, as you have already had occasion to do, that to firmness in my political opinions are joined my sincere wishes for your welfare and profound sentiments of my obligations to you."

No answer to this letter was received. From this time, all intercourse between Lafayette and the First Consul ceased. They saw each other no more, until after the reverses of Napoleon, 1814-15.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

Lafayette in the retirement of Lagrange—Suggested mission to America—Is offered by President Jefferson the office of Governor of Louisiana—Letter declining the appointment—Mr. Jefferson's opinion of Lafayette—Letter approving his conduct in the French Revolution—Lagrange not exempt from misfortune and sorrow—Accident to Lafayette—Petty resentments of Napoleon—Death of Madame Lafayette—Her character—Lafayette's sorrow, and affectionate remembrance of her—Napoleon's exile to and return from Elba—Endeavours to conciliate the old friends of liberty—Lafayette declines his advances—Refuses the peerage—Remonstrates against the revival of despotism—Is elected a deputy—Battle of Waterloo—Last effort of Napoleon—Bold and patriotick declarations of Lafayette—Frustrates the despotic designs of Napoleon—Reply to Lui-cien Bonaparte—Advises the abdication of the Emperour—Is a commissioner to treat with the allies—Endeavours to secure the liberty of Napoleon, and his safe conduct to America—Retires to Lagrange—Elected again to the Chamber of Deputies—Advocates liberal principles and measures—Resists the despotic encroachments under the restoration—Warns and reproaches the Bourbon dynasty—Is accused of treasonable designs—Challenges his adversaries to the proof—Is defeated in his election by the Ministry.

WHILE Napoleon pursued his brilliant career of victory and power—assuming to himself the kingly crown and the imperial diadem—destroying old dynasties and establishing new—making and unmaking kings—conquering nation upon nation, and setting the world in a blaze—Lafayette, the true friend of his country, and reserved for its exigencies, led a quiet and honourable life in the retirements of Lagrange. This had been the paternal estate of Madame Lafayette's mother, who had perished, with her eldest daughter, on the revolutionary scaffold. Lafayette anxiously desired the possession of this estate, as a part of his wife's share, in the division of the property. "I am constantly looking (said he, in a letter to Masclet, Dec. 1801) at the fields of Lagrange, till I know that they are my property, and that I shall be at liberty to cultivate them. The allotment of our shares will be finished, I hope, in three or four decades. Adrienne's share will be less considerable than I had ima-

gined ; but should I obtain my favoured residence of La-  
grange, with its arrondissement of wood, meadows, and ar-  
able land, I shall arrange a good handsome farm for my-  
self, and I shall then envy the lot of none."

His desire was in due season gratified ; and as soon as he had obtained possession, Lafayette applied himself with ardour to the improvement of the estate. To Masclet he then wrote : " I am here alone in my fields, where I pass a most agreeable life, turning to account four strong ploughs, and aptly demonstrating the disputed problem of the farmer proprietor."

Identified as Lafayette was with the American republick, his name was naturally suggested, on his return from exile, among the candidates, as minister from the consular government to that of the United States. Writing to Masclet on the subject, he said: " I shall not go to America, my dear Masclet, at least in a diplomatick capacity. I am far from abandoning the idea of making private and patriotick visits to the United States, and to the citizens of the new world ; but at present I am much more intent upon farming than upon embassies. It seems to me, that were I to arrive in America in any other costume than an American uniform, I should be as embarrassed with my appearance as a savage in breeches." An opportunity, however, was soon presented to Lafayette, of visiting America, of becoming, in fact, an American citizen, in a capacity most honourable, and congenial with his feelings. Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, having completed the purchase of Louisiana, pressingly invited Lafayette to accept the office of provisional gouverneur of that territory. Considerations, connected with the liberty and welfare of his native country, prevented Lafayette from accepting this grateful offer. Napoleon had just assumed the title of Emperour. The feelings and motives of Lafayette are expressed in his letter to President Jefferson, (October 8th, 1804) declining the appointment :

" Your proposition (he said,) offers all the advantages of dignity, wealth and security, and I do not feel less warmly than I have done these thirty years past, the desire of advancing with American liberty in its progress over all the continent. But you, my dear friend, you also know and share my wishes for French, and consequently for European liberty. In America the cause of mankind is gained and secured ; nothing can arrest, change, or sully its progress. Here all

regard it as lost and without hope. But for me to pronounce that sentence, to proclaim it as it were by a final expatriation, would be a concession so contrary to my sanguine nature, that, unless I were absolutely forced, I know not the land, however disadvantageous, and still less can I imagine the hope, however unpromising, which I could totally and irrevocably abandon. This is perhaps after all but a weakness of heart, but in spite of the usurpations of uncontrolled power, and in the event of its overthrow—amidst the dangers of Jacobinism excited to rage, and the still greater dangers of a royal aristocracy, more absurd, though not less sanguinary, I do not despair of obtaining modifications less unfavourable to the dignity and liberty of my countrymen. When I consider the prodigious influence of French doctrines upon the future destinies of the world, I think it will not be right in me, one of the promoters of that resolution, to admit the impossibility of beholding it, even in our time, re-established on its true basis of a generous, a virtuous, in a word, an American liberty."

By no American statesman were the character and services of Lafayette more highly appreciated than by Mr. Jefferson. Speaking, at a late period of his life, of the alliance with France which secured the independence of America, he said : " We commissioners in Europe placed the nail, and Lafayette drove it in." The full concurrence and approbation of Mr. Jefferson, whose democracy will never be doubted, added to those of Gen. Washington, will vindicate Lafayette from all charges of having departed in the French revolution from the strict requirements of his duty as a republican. In a letter written to Lafayette in 1815, Mr. Jefferson reminds him, that at the period of the tennis court oath, (see p. 217) he (Jefferson) advised an accommodation with the king, until the French nation should be further advanced in its political education.

" You thought otherwise, (he adds,) and that the dose might still be larger, and I found you were right; for subsequent events proved they were equal to the constitution of 1791. Unfortunately, some of the most honest and enlightened of our patriotick friends (but closet politicians merely, unpractised in the knowledge of man), thought more could still be obtained and borne. They did not weigh the hazards of a transition from one form of government to another, the value of what they had already rescued from those hazards, and might hold in security if they pleased, nor the imprudence of giving up the certainty of such a degree of liberty, under a limited monarch, for the uncertainty of a little more under the form of a republick. You differed from them; you were for stopping there, and for securing the constitution which the national Assembly had obtained. Here, too, you were right; and from this fatal error of the republicans, from their separating from yourself, and the constitutionalists in their councils, flowed all the subsequent sufferings and crimes of

the French nation. The hazards of a second change fell upon them by the way. The foreigner gained time to anarchise by gold the government he could not overthrow by arms, to crush in their own councils the genuine republicans, by the fraternal embraces of exaggerated and hireling pretenders, and to turn the machine of Jacobinism from the change to the destruction of order, and in the end the limited monarchy they had secured was exchanged for the unprincipled and maniac tyranny of Bonaparte."

The peaceful abode of Lagrange, had its misfortunes and its sorrows. On a visit to Paris (in 1805 or 1806) Lafayette fell upon the slippery pavement, and severely fractured his leg. Skilful surgeons were employed, and splints and bandages were profusely and tightly applied, conformably to the practice of the day. From these and the wound Lafayette suffered greatly. He was confined for nearly six months, and remained lame for the remainder of his life.

His son, George Washington Lafayette, had joined the French armies soon after his return from America.—Lafayette had given his consent; not that he approved of the government which then ruled France; but he considered it the duty of every true Frenchman to defend his country from invasion. "France (he said) whether free or not, is still our country; and there are more germs of liberty in her democratick organization than could enter into the counter-revolution. Her adversaries are the decided enemies of our purest principles, and have taken up arms only to accomplish her utter destruction. If it appears unsuitable, that when Europe is divided into two bands, a young man of nineteen years of age should be found in neither, it appears evident, that the place of a patriot—of my son—can be only under our national standards."

But after the refusal of Lafayette to further the ambitious designs of Napoleon, that aspiring chieftain extended his petty feelings of resentment to the connexions, and particularly to the son, of the contumacious patriot. Although George Washington Lafayette distinguished himself on various occasions, Napoleon could never be brought to consent to his promotion. Lafayette could not but feel, sensibly, this injustice; but he would not consent that his son should leave the army on account of it, so long as the enemies of the country were unsubdued. The young soldier resigned after the peace of Tilsit, July, 1807, and became an inmate of the family at Lagrange.

But the event which at this period cast the heaviest gloom over the domestick circle of Lagrange, and embittered the retirement of Lafayette, was the death of Madame Lafayette, "a woman whose name (in the language of Gen. Fitzpatrick) will be revered as long as sublime virtue shall command respect, and unmerited affliction shall inspire compassion in the human heart." M. de Segur thus records her death and bears testimony to her virtues :

" This lady, who was a model of heroism and indeed of every virtue, imbibed during her captivity and misfortunes, that disorder which, after protracted suffering, terminated her life on the 24th of December, 1807 ; she died surrounded by a numerous family, who offered up ardent prayers to heaven for her preservation. When unable to articulate, a smile playcd upon her lips at the sight of her husband and children who bathed her deathbed with tears. Devoted to her domestick duties, which were her only pleasure ; adorned by every virtue ; pious, modest, charitable, severe to herself, indulgent to others, she was one of the few whose pure reputation has received fresh lustre from the misfortunes of the revolution. Though ruined by our political storm, yet she scarcely seemed to recollect that she had ever enjoyed ample fortune. She was the happiness of her family, the friend of the poor, the consoler of the afflicted, an ornament to her country and an honour to her sex."

This bereavement was felt severely by Lafayette, and he thus expressed his feelings in a letter to his friend Masclet :

" I was certain, my dear Masclet, that you would tenderly regret the adorable woman whom you were pleased to celebrate, before you were personally acquainted with her, and to cherish from the period when she was herself able to express to you her grateful friendship. It would be ungrateful in me to entertain a doubt of your participation in my grief ; but although such a doubt was far from my thoughts, I have derived a melancholy gratification from the renewed assurance of your feelings, and for that assurance, I thank you most cordially. I willingly admit, that under great misfortunes. I have felt myself superiour to the situation in which my friends had the kindness to sympathize ; but at present, I have neither the power nor the wish to struggle against the calamity which has befallen me, or rather, to surmount the deep affliction which I shall carry with me to the grave. It will be mingled with the sweetest recollections of the thirty-four years, during which I was bound by the tenderest ties that, perhaps, ever existed, and with the thought of her last moments, in which she heaped upon me such proofs of her incomparable affection. I cannot describe the happiness which, in the midst of so many vicissitudes and troubles, I have constantly derived from the tender, noble, and generous feeling, ever associated to the interests which gave animation to my existence."

These feelings Lafayette cherished throughout his life. The main door of madame Lafayette's apartment was walled

up at the time of her death, and remained so ever after. On certain days Lafayette repaired hither by a back door alone or in company with his children, to pay homage to her memory. "One day during his last illness, (says Cloquet) I surprised him kissing her portrait, which he always wore suspended to his neck in a small gold medallion. Around the portrait were the words—"I am yours;" and on the back was engraved this short and touching inscription: "I was then a gentle companion to you! In that case—bless me."

During the temporary exile of Napoleon to Elba, and the restoration of 1814, Lafayette once repaired to court, and was well received by the King and Monsieur his brother. But the renewed struggles of monarchy and Jacobinism, which favoured the return of Napoleon from Elba, had no charms for Lafayette. He took no part in publick affairs, until the meteorlike advent of Napoleon again arrayed against France the combined powers of Europe. When, by his rapid and astonishing movement, Napoleon had once more possessed himself of power, which he could not but deem precarious, he was anxious, in order to strengthen himself in the commencement of his new career, to conciliate the old friends of French liberty. Joseph Bonaparte sought and obtained an interview with Lafayette, appealed to him in the name of liberty and his country, and endeavoured to inspire his confidence in the sincerity and value of the pledges which Napoleon was about giving to the nation and the world. Lafayette acknowledged the appeal in behalf of the nation. He was willing to aid in defending it against the invasion and dictation of foreign powers; but he had little confidence in the professions of the Emperour and desired a constitutional guaranty for the liberties of the people. The Act Additional, or addition to the Constitution of 1799, 1802, and 1804, which Napoleon offered to the nation soon after his return from Elba in 1815, contained several ameliorating features. But it restored effectually the principles of his former despotism; and while it recognized the liberty of the press and an elective chamber of deputies, it re-established an hereditary peerage. Lafayette not only refused a seat in this new chamber of peers, which was offered to him by Napoleon, but promptly entered at his commune and in the electoral college of the Seine

and Marne, his solemn protest against these despotic features of the additional act. He was nevertheless elected president and afterwards first deputy, of the department.

As a representative of the people, Lafayette took his seat in the chamber of deputies. He was chosen one of its vice-presidents. He endeavoured to inspire the Assembly with elevated views of its duties, as guardians of the rights of the people, as well as in regard to the attitude it should assume towards other nations ; and declared that its conduct would settle the question, whether it was to be called *the representation of the French people*, or simply *the Napoleon Club*. While, however, he resisted the despotic designs of the Emperour, he sustained every measure which was required for defence against the allied armies. He was in favour of calling out the mass of the nation, by the reorganization of the national guards ; a measure which Napoleon dreaded, and refused to adopt, as dangerous to his own power.

But, the battle of Waterloo, which took place twelve days after the meeting of the chambers, drove Napoleon back upon Paris, and sealed his destiny. He resolved, however, to make one mighty and desperate effort to retrieve his fortunes. His design was said and believed to be, to dissolve the chambers, which he could not control, assume the dictatorship, and raise instantly an army by conscription to repel his invaders. Lafayette, in this crisis, exhibited his former courage and decision of character. He was desirous that the Assembly should maintain the integrity and just powers of the nation. He had learned that it was the intention of Napoleon to dissolve the Chambers, as soon as they should convene on the morning of the 21st of June. The moment, therefore, that the Assembly had met, Lafayette ascended the tribune, and fearless of the consequences, spoke and proposed as follows :—

“ When for the first time for many years, I now raise a voice which the old friends of liberty may still remember, I feel myself called upon, gentlemen, to address you respecting the dangers of the country, which you alone are now able to save.

“ Sinister reports have been spread abroad ; they are now unhappily confirmed. The moment has arrived for rallying round the old tri-coloured standard, that of 1789, that of liberty, equality and publick order. It is that standard alone, which we have to defend against foreign pretensions and internal intrigues. Permit, gentlemen, a veteran in this sacred cause ; one who was ever a stranger to

the spirit of faction, to submit to you some provisional resolutions, the necessity of which I trust you will acknowledge.

“ Art. 1. The chamber of representatives declares that the independence of the nation is menaced.

“ 2. The chamber declares itself permanent. Every attempt to dissolve it is high treason; and whoever is guilty of that attempt, will be a traitor to the country, and instantly condemned as such.

“ 3. The army of the line and the national guards who have fought and still are fighting to defend the liberty, the independence and the territory of France, have merited well of the country.

“ 2. The minister of the interiour is called upon to assemble the general staff and the commandants and majors of the national guard of Paris, in order to consider the means of arming and rendering most efficient that civick guard, whose patriotism and zeal, after twenty-six years' trial, offer a sure guarantee for the liberty, property and tranquillity of the capital, and for the inviolability of the representatives of the nation.

“ 5. The minister of war, for foreign affairs, of the interiour, and of the police, are required to join the assembly immediately.”

These resolutions were promptly adopted, excepting that relative to the national guards, the consideration of which, through the artifice of some members, was postponed. It would have placed fifty thousand men at the disposal of the Assembly, for its own defence and that of the capital. This prompt movement of Lafayette frustrated the despotic and violent designs which Napoleon was supposed to have entertained. He hesitated during the day what course to pursue. At a secret session of the Assembly in the evening, the abdication of the Emperour was proposed. Lucien Bonaparte, who was present, spoke eloquently in explanation, and in vindication of Napoleon. He appealed to the love of glory, the generosity, and fidelity of the nation. It was not Napoleon, he said, that was attacked, but the French people; and that the proposition then made to abandon the Emperour, exposed the French nation, before the tribunal of the world, to a severe judgement on its levity and inconstancy. Lafayette rose from his seat, and without ascending the tribune, turned towards Lucien, and spoke with impressive composure as follows: “ That is a calumnious assertion which has just been uttered. Who shall dare to accuse the French people of inconstancy to the Emperour Napoleon? Did they not follow him through the sands of Egypt and along the deserts of Russia, over fifty fields of battle, in disasters as faithfully as in victories? And it is for having thus followed him that they have to

mourn the blood of three millions of their countrymen!" These words produced a deep impression on the Assembly, Lucien bowed respectfully to Lafayette, and remained silent. The same night, after having learned what had taken place at the secret session of the deputies, Napoleon convened a council, consisting of the ministers, the president, and four members of the Chamber of Peers, the president and four vice-presidents of the Deputies, with other official persons and counsellors of state. He laid before them the state of affairs, and asked their advice. Among the conflicting opinions expressed, Lafayette had the candour and courage to intimate, that the abdication of the Emperour, under the circumstances, was the only safe course for himself and the nation.

The next day, June 22d, Napoleon sent in his abdication. Lafayette was at the head of a deputation which was sent to thank him, in the name of the chamber, for his voluntary sacrifice. A provisional government was formed, from which Lafayette, being neither acceptable to the Bonapartists nor the Bourbonites, was excluded. The command of the national guards was bestowed upon Massina; and Lafayette was sent, with other commissioners, to treat with the allies for an armistice. The English ambassador having raised doubts respecting the legal character of a chamber convoked by Buonaparte, Lafayette replied, "I am astonished that an Englishman should hesitate to acknowledge, that the authority of a national assembly is derived rather from those who elect, than from him who convokes it." The question being at length put to Lafayette, whether peace would be accepted on condition of giving up Bonaparte to the allies? "I am surprised (he answered), that in making so odious a proposition to the French nation, you should have addressed yourself to one of the prisoners of Olmutz." Lafayette had treated Napoleon in his adversity, with personal kindness and respect; had previously stipulated in the Assembly, that the liberty and life of the Emperour should be guarantied by the French nation; and had endeavoured, before his departure, to obtain for Napoleon two frigates to conduct him to the United States.

But the negotiations of Lafayette were in vain. On his return to Paris, he found it in the possession of the allies. The famous declaration of the chamber of deputies, assert-

ing the right of France to self-government, and requiring guarantees for the civil and religious rights of the people from those who were about to propose a government for it, was signed by Lafayette on the 6th of July. Two days thereafter, the doors of the chamber were closed against the representatives. Lafayette invited the deputies to meet at his house; from whence two hundred of them proceeded to the residence of the president, where a spirited, but useless protest, was adopted and signed. On the 8th of July, Louis XVIII re-entered the French capital in triumph. The throne of the Bourbons was again restored by foreign bayonets. Lafayette retired once more to Lagrange, and resumed his favourite occupations and improvements.

Called again from his retirement by the people, and elected to the chamber of deputies, Lafayette, as a member of that body, during the year 1819 and the four succeeding years, boldly resisted the encroachments of the government upon the rights of the people, and sustained the free principles which he had throughout his life professed. In the discussions of the period he took a prominent part, and his speeches were distinguished by sound reasoning, and eloquent appeals in behalf of liberty and justice. In the commencement he opposed the restrictions upon the right of suffrage, and moved, "that the institution of the trial by jury should be restored, with all its protective forms, and that the recall of banished persons should be the termination of all measures of proscription." He contended that the institution of the national guards was the best safeguard for the liberties of the people and the security and independence of the nation; and in 1820, brought forward a proposition for their re-organization. "I feel implicit confidence (he said) in our young army; it will prove itself, when occasion requires, always brave, always patriotick, two essential conditions of honour for the warriours of a free country. To name our veterans, is to retrace their glory and our gratitude. But the country requires a third barrier of our independence and our territory, and an indispensable guaranty of liberty and order, viz:—the national guard." The proposition, however, was unsuccessful. Lafayette was also for increasing the French navy, and rendering it more efficient for national defence. On that occasion he complimented the navy of the United States,

"whose fleet, (he said) since its creation, and during two severe wars against Great Britain, with equal, and often with inferior force, never once failed to gain the advantage."

The ministers had brought forward measures hostile to personal liberty. In opposing them, Lafayette said :— "Thirty years ago, in the assembly of the notables, of 1787, I was the first to demand the abolition of *letters-de-cachet* : I now vote against their restoration." In opposition to the censorship of the press, he exclaimed : "Let the charter be respected ; for to violate it would be to dissolve it, to dissolve the mutual guarantees of the nation and the throne, to throw ourselves back to the primitive independence of our rights and duties."

In advocating the reform of the criminal code, Lafayette avowed himself, as he did on other occasions, in favour of abolishing capital punishment.

Lafayette continued to remonstrate against the high-handed measures of the government, and to warn the Bourbon dynasty of the inevitable consequences of their attempts to restore the old order of despotism. He openly accused them of violating their pledges to the French people.

"The charter (he said) was presented as a guarantee for personal liberty, the liberty of the press, the liberty of religious worship, the equality of rights, the independence of the jury, the inviolability of all property, and as the pledge of a representative system which might render effectual this recent acknowledgment of our rights and the fruits of the revolution.

"Well, gentlemen, what has ensued ? The liberty of the press, and personal liberty, have once more been sacrificed ; the organick laws of the municipal system, of the administrative system, of the independence of juries, of the responsibility of the agents of power, which we were informed were all ready last year ; and the King's commissioners say they now are, are obstinately withheld. Government will neither form nor arm the national guard, which, therefore, has no resource in this moment of danger, but to rise spontaneously.

"Now, gentlemen," continued he, "are we no longer permitted to think that a nation belongs to herself, and is not the property of any one ; that in a free country every soldier is the soldier of his country ; that we owe obedience only to legal orders, and not to oppression ; for despotism, whatever form it may assume, is the most insolent of revolutions, the most scandalous and lasting of publick disorders !"

In 1823, a crisis seemed to be at hand. Manuel, a deputy and friend of Lafayette, had been violently expelled from the chamber of deputies, for the freedom with which he had

declared his political opinions. Lafayette on this occasion retired with sixty of his colleagues, and signed a protest which declared, that the publick taxes having become illegal by the violation of the liberty of the representatives, their payment was not obligatory.

At a previous session, in vindicating the beneficial results of the revolution, Lafayette had said : "The revolution was the emancipation and developement of the human faculties, and the restoration of nations. This is so true, that the friends of liberty have always been and still are, hated by the adversaries of the revolution, in proportion to the efforts they have made to prevent it being sullied by crimes and successes." The truth of this latter declaration had formerly been, and was again to be, verified in his own case. The independence of his course as a deputy, the boldness with which he had denounced usurpations and abuses, and appealed to the patriotism and energy of the people, brought upon him the displeasure of the government, and furnished pretexts for formal accusations. In 1823, a positive accusation of treasonable designs was brought by the *procureur du roi*, (Manguin) who pretended to have proof against Lafayette, and who, in the excess of his monarchical zeal, exclaimed : "Ah ! were I but his judge !" The colleagues of Lafayette, who were implicated with him, having demanded justice against the calumny, Lafayette mounted the tribune, and without deigning to deny the fact, spoke as follows :

"In spite of my habitual indifference to party accusations and animosities, I still think myself bound to add a few words to what has fallen from my honourable friend. During the whole course of a life entirely devoted to the cause of liberty, I have constantly been an object of attack to the enemies of that cause, under whatever form, despotic, aristocratick, anarchick, they have endeavoured to combat it. I do not complain, then, because I observe some affectation in the use of the word *proved*, which the procureur-general has employed against me. But I join my honourable friends in demanding a publick inquiry, within the walls of the chamber, and in the face of the nation ; there I and my adversaries to whatever rank they belong, may declare without reserve all that we have mutually had to reproach each other with, for the last thirty years."

Before this challenge the adversaries of Lafayette recoiled, and the accusation was pursued no further. Through intrigues and election frauds, however, the ministry succeeded the same year (1823) in defeating his election to the septennial chamber of deputies.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Lafayette determines to visit America—His departure and voyage—Arrives at New York—Is received with enthusiasm—Journey to and reception at Boston—Returns to New York—Brilliant fete at Castle Garden—Voyage up the Hudson—Return—Goes south—Reception at Philadelphia—Visit of Lafayette to the tomb of Washington—Celebration at Yorktown—Honours and Hospitalities in Virginia—Returns to Washington—Reception by Congress—Address of Mr. Clay—Lafayette's answer—Munificent act of Congress—How received and accepted by Lafayette—Rapid tour through the Southern and Western States—Sketch of the route and some of the incidents of his journey—Arrives in Boston—Universal astonishment at the journey performed—The anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill—Lafayette assists in laying the corner stone of the monument—Returns to Washington—Farewell visit to the Ex-presidents in Virginia—Celebration of Lafayette's birthday—Close of his tour—Its incidents and character—Farewell address of President Adams—Lafayette's reply—Embarks on board the frigate Brandywine—Bids a final adieu to America.

LEFT once more to pursue his private inclinations, Lafayette determined to gratify the wish he had long entertained, of revisiting America—America, the scene of his youthful glory, and the long-cherished object of his affectionate remembrance. His intention soon became known in the United States, and created a deep sensation among the publick authorities and all classes of the people. Mr. Monroe, then president, promptly wrote to Lafayette, offering to send a frigate to any part of France, to convey him to the United States, at such time as he should appoint. Congress, in February, passed a resolution repeating the offer of a frigate, and expressing to Lafayette the sincere attachment of the whole nation, with the ardent desire to see him among them. This resolution was communicated officially to Lafayette by President Monroe, under date of February 24th, 1824. The municipal authorities of Boston, New York, and other cities of the Union, also wrote to Lafayette, tendering to him in advance the hospitality of their respective cities.

Lafayette declined, with respectful acknowledgments, the

offer of a frigate. Accompanied only by his son, and M. Levasseur, his secretary, he repaired to Havre, on the 12th July, having engaged a passage in an American merchant ship, the Cadmus. The citizens of Havre had prepared to manifest their respect for Lafayette on his arrival among them; but the interference of the police, the creatures of a government verging towards despotism or dissolution, prevented the publick manifestations which had been arranged. When he embarked, however, the next day, July 13, a large concourse of people assembled to witness his departure, and in despite of the minions of power, gave a spontaneous manifestation of their feelings. Lafayette was received on board the Cadmus with three hearty cheers, which were re-echoed by the crews of the vessels in port, and the immense crowds which thronged the shore. The sails were soon after spread to a favourable breeze, and the vessel proceeded on its memorable voyage.

On the first of August, while the vessel was becalmed, and Lafayette was seated upon deck with other passengers, enjoying the quiet scene of an unruffled ocean, a small boat approached, filled with persons in uniform. They proved to be British officers from a vessel on its way to Halifax, which was also becalmed within sight of the Cadmus. The officers came on board, and exhibited at first no little arrogance of manners. In reply to their questions as to the character and destination of his vessel, Capt. Allyn, of the Cadmus, named and pointed out to them General Lafayette. The manner of the officers immediately changed. They took off their hats, and received the proffered hand of the general with cordiality and respect. They partook of refreshments with him, conversed for half an hour, and took leave in the most respectful manner. It was a tribute paid to the valour and virtue of the man, and not to Lafayette as one of the conquering heroes of the American revolution.

The Cadmus arrived within Sandy Hook on the morning of the 15th of August. The artillery of fort Lafayette announced to the city of New York the approach of the "Nation's Guest." It being Sunday, Lafayette accepted the invitation of Vice-President Tompkins, to land on Staten Island, and remain at his hospitable mansion until the next day.

The reception of Lafayette by the authorities and people

of the city of New York, was cordial and splendid beyond precedent or description. Early on the morning of the 16th, the city poured forth its aquatrick hosts, anxious to have the first glimpse of a man to whom the whole nation was prepared to give so warm and well-merited a welcome. The spacious bay was soon covered with water craft of every size and description, from the fragile skiff to the most spacious and splendid steamer, decorated with flags and banners, and filled with excited multitudes of both sexes and all classes of citizens. Amidst this scene Lafayette embarked from Staten Island on board the steam-boat Chancellor Livingston, which had been designated to convey him up the bay. On board of this boat, to receive and escort him, were the various deputations of the city, the generals and officers of the militia, the army and navy; a detachment of infantry, and more than two hundred of the principal citizens of New York. Among these Lafayette soon recognized several of his old fellow-soldiers, who rushed into his arms, overjoyed to behold him once more in the land he had contributed to make free and prosperous, after an absence of forty years, during which he had undergone so many dangers and sufferings for the cause of liberty in other lands. A general greeting followed. While these scenes of gratitude and joy were passing, a band of musick struck up the favourite French air, "*Ou peut-on etre mieux qu'au sein de sa famille*" —Where can one be better than in the bosom of his family? The immense flotilla, splendid and imposing beyond the power of language to describe, moved forward; and at two o'clock Lafayette landed at the Battery, "amidst the acclamations of two hundred thousand voices, which hailed him with blessing and welcome." He was met by the *Lafayette Guards*, who wore badges upon their breasts with the portrait of Lafayette, and escorted in front of a long line of militia, drawn up to receive him, and who were all decorated with a similar badge. At the end of this line, amidst the roar of cannon from the forts and the shores, Lafayette entered an open barouche, drawn by four white horses, and, amidst an immense procession, was escorted to the city hall, where the municipal authorities, headed by the mayor, awaited to receive him in an appropriate manner. Every street through which the procession passed, was decorated with scrolls and flags. From the crowded windows wreaths of flowers were

showered by fair hands upon the venerable head of the general; and the words "Welcome Lafayette!" were displayed upon thousands of banners, and echoed and re-echoed from thousands of tongues. In the great saloon of the city hall, Lafayette for two hours received the enthusiastick greetings of the people. From thence he was conducted to lodgings which had been prepared for him at the City Hotel, at that time the largest and most popular publick house in the city, where a splendid dinner, at which all the civil and military authorities were present, closed the proceedings of the day.

For four days Lafayette remained in New York, receiving the congratulations of numerous publick bodies, of his old friends and the citizens generally. On the 20th of August, accompanied by a numerous escort, he commenced his route to Boston. From every hamlet and village on the way, the people poured forth to pay him honours and to bid him welcome. Five days and five nights, for they travelled until midnight and started again at five o'clock in the morning, were occupied in this journey. But amidst the numerous displays of a nation's gratitude, these night marches were not the least pleasing or imposing. "The long file of carriages (says Levasseur) escorted by horsemen bearing torches; the fires lighted from place to place upon the tops of the hills, and around which were grouped families whom the desire of beholding their guest had kept watching; the somewhat wild sound of the trumpet of our escort, repeated several times by our woodland echoes, the sight of the sea, which occasionally came into view on our right, and the distant and decreasing peal of the bells which had announced our passage, all formed around us a picturesque and enchanting scene. In this manner we passed through Fairfield, New Haven and New London, in Connecticut; Providence, in Rhode Island, and finally the route from Rhode Island to Boston."

On the frontier of Massachusetts, Lafayette was met by the aids of Governour Eustis, and a fresh escort. They arrived by torch-light at the village of Roxbury, the residence of Governour Eustis, two miles from Boston. There they remained for the night.

The next morning Lafayette entered Boston, accompanied by a numerous escort, and a large concourse of citizens who came out to meet him. His reception by the

publick authorities and the people, was no less cordial and imposing than it had been in the city of New York. A series of splendid publick festivals and private manifestations of welcome, occupied the six days which Lafayette passed in Boston, during which time he paid an interesting visit to Bunker Hill, and to the venerable Ex-president Adams, in his quiet residence at Quincy. From thence he passed by land through the principal towns and cities of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut to Hartford. His journey was throughout a scene of splendid triumph. The brief inscriptions on the triumphal arches under which he passed, spoke truly the feelings of the people :—“ Honour to Lafayette ! Honour to him who fought and shed his blood for the peace and happiness which we enjoy !” “ Lafayette, friend and defender of liberty, welcome to the land of your adoption !” “ In the days of our adversity, thou didst aid us—in the days of our prosperity, we recall thy services with gratitude !”

Returned to New York, Lafayette again underwent, for eight days, an almost unceasing round of publick honours and private hospitalities. On the evening of the 13th of Sept., preparatory to his departure on a tour up the North River, a splendid festival, or ball, took place at Castle Garden. In the vast amphitheatre of that military edifice, which is about six hundred feet in circumference, nearly six thousand persons, comprising the beauty and fashion, the political, civil and military array, of that great metropolis, were assembled. In the middle of the bridge which leads from the battery to the fort, was a pyramid sixty feet high, illuminated with variegated lamps, and surmounted by a brilliant star, in the centre of which blazed the name of Lafayette. Along this bridge, which was covered with rich carpets, and lined on each side with rows of green trees and flowers, Lafayette was escorted. At the entrance of the castle, he passed under a triumphal arch of flowers, surmounted by a colossal statue of Washington, resting upon two cannon. In the centre of the amphitheatre stood the genius of America, bearing a shield, upon which were inscribed the words, “ To the Nation’s Guest.” A column, sixty feet high, supported an arch composed of the flags of all nations, ingeniously woven together ; around the sides were disposed thirteen smaller columns, bearing the arms of the original States.

of the Union ; and the whole interiour was most brilliantly illuminated. When Lafayette entered upon this brilliant scene, a powerful band struck up the air, “ See, the conquering hero comes ; ” and amidst the applauses of the multitude, he was conducted to a splendid marquee which had been prepared for him, among the decorations of which was a bust of Hamilton and two pieces of cannon taken at Yorktown. But to the splendours of this reception, a more simple and touching incident followed. Scarcely was he seated, when a curtain upon the gallery in front of him was suddenly withdrawn, and exhibited an elegant transparency, which represented an exact view of Lagrange, the residence of Lafayette, with its gothick towers, ditches and parks, and beneath it the inscription, “ *This is his home !* ” This simple and delicate device, made a deeper impression upon Lafayette than all the pomp and pageantry beside.

From this brilliant and happy assemblage, Lafayette embarked with a large party on board the steam-boat Chancellor Kent, and pursued his voyage up the Hudson. The reader may well imagine that it was not one of solitude or indifference ; and that Lafayette’s reception by the inhabitants of the flourishing towns and fertile banks of the Hudson, who rushed to the shores and wharves to greet and welcome him, was not less cordial and enthusiastick than that which he had experienced on his late tour to the eastward.

After visiting Albany and Troy, Lafayette returned to the city of New York ; enjoyed there a few days of repose, and left, on the 22d of September, for Washington. At Philadelphia, where he first exhibited his devotion to the cause of America, had passed so many days during the revolution, and was endeared by so many recollections to the inhabitants, a most brilliant reception awaited him.

On his approach to the city, he was received by the civil and military officers, and about 6000 uniform volunteer militia, drawn up in a hollow square, amidst the thunder of cannon. On their march, literally the whole population came out to meet Lafayette. At the sides of the streets, stages were erected, as high as the eaves of the houses, to accommodate the anxious spectators. The various trades and workmen, had assembled in uniform bodies, with miniature workshops and implements of their trades upon cars. These were surmounted with appropriate flags and banners,

containing the portraits of Washington and Lafayette, with this inscription: "To their wisdom and courage we owe the free exercise of our industry." The children of the publick schools followed in the procession, bearing badges with the portrait of the general, and the motto "Welcome Lafayette." The general was seated in a magnificent barouche, drawn by six horses; and near him, in four open cars, resembling tents, were forty revolutionary soldiers. The mayor, and other municipal authorities, with numerous columns of military, completed the brilliant procession. After passing through the principal streets, and under thirteen triumphal arches, and being joined by the members of the legislature and the judiciary, the procession repaired to the Hall of Independence. In this ancient edifice, where the Declaration of Independence was adopted and signed, and at the door of which, in 1777, Lafayette waited with impatience the answer of Congress to his generous offer of his fortune and services in the cause of America, Lafayette was now impressively addressed by the Mayor of Philadelphia, and answered eloquently, with deep and natural emotion. The greetings of the people followed, and lasted for several hours. A splendid dinner was served up, and "at night, (says Levasseur) a population of one hundred and twenty thousand souls, augmented by forty thousand strangers from various parts of the Union, walked about by the light of an illumination, celebrating the exploits of the champion of liberty; and these rejoicings of the people, which in Europe under the protection of the police would have been signalized by murders, robberies, and accidents of all sorts, here passed without the slightest disorder."

For eight days Lafayette continued to receive the unflagging hospitalities of the city of brotherly love. A similar reception awaited him at Baltimore; and at Washington city he was entertained for several days by President Monroe, the citizens and heads of departments, Congress not being in session.

Great preparations had been made by the military of Virginia, to celebrate the anniversary of the capture of Yorktown, in anticipation of Lafayette's presence on the occasion. He therefore, on the 17th of October, left Washington for the purpose, accompanied by an escort from Virginia. Descending the Potomack in a steam-boat, Lafayette embraced the opportunity to visit the tomb of his departed

friend and commander, Washington. This interesting visit is thus related by Levasseur :

"After a voyage of two hours, the guns of fort Washington announced that we were approaching the last abode of the father of his country. At this solemn signal, to which the military band accompanying us responded by plaintive strains, we went on deck, and the venerable soil of Mount Vernon was before us; at this view an involuntary and spontaneous movement made us kneel. We landed in boats, and trod upon the ground so often worn by the feet of Washington. A carriage received general Lafayette, and the other visitors silently ascended the precipitous path which conducted to the solitary habitation of Mount Vernon. \* \* \* \* \*

"Three nephews of Gen. Washington took Lafayette, his son, and myself, to conduct us to the tomb of their uncle; our numerous companions remained in the house; in a few minutes after, the cannon of the fort, thundering anew, announced that Lafayette rendered homage to the ashes of WASHINGTON. Simple and modest as he was during life, the tomb of the citizen-hero is scarcely perceived amid the sombre cypresses by which it is surrounded: a vault slightly elevated and sodded over, a wooden door without inscriptions, some withered and some green garlands, indicate to the traveller who visits this spot, the place where rest in peace the puissant arms which broke the chains of his country. As we approached, the door was opened; Lafayette descended alone into the vault, and a few minutes after reappeared, with his eyes overflowing with tears. He took his son and me by the hand, and led us into the tomb, where by a sign he indicated the coffin of his paternal friend, along side of which was that of his companion in life, united to him for ever in the grave. We knelt reverentially near his coffin, which we respectfully saluted with our lips; rising, we threw ourselves into the arms of Lafayette, and mingled our tears with his."

Received upon the plains of Yorktown, by an enthusiastick encampment of hospitable Virginians, a triumphal arch erected over the site of the redoubt which he carried at the head of the American troops at the siege of Yorktown, an eloquent address, and a wreath placed upon his brow by fair hands, amidst loud and repeated plaudits, were to Lafayette the outward tokens of their grateful remembrance. An appropriate celebration of the day followed. Lafayette occupied as his head-quarters, the same house in which Cornwallis had his, 43 years before, during the siege of Yorktown. Some servants, in examining the cellar, discovered an antique chest, which, on opening, they found to contain candles, blackened by time, and which, by the inscription on the lid, were known to have formed part of Cornwallis' stores during the siege. This discovery being proclaimed, the can-

dles were in due time lighted and arrayed in circles in the centre of the camp, where dancing was one of the amusements of the evening. Levasseur says that the old revolutionary soldiers were so elated by the amusing idea of a ball in Yorktown in 1824, by the light of Cornwallis' candles, that notwithstanding their great age and the fatigues of the day, most of them were unwilling to retire until the candles were entirely consumed.

After receiving the honours and hospitalities of Virginia at Richmond, Petersburgh, and other places, and passing some days with Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, at their respective residences, Lafayette left Orange Court-House, where he had been addressed by Gouvernor Barbour, in behalf of the citizens, on the 20th of November, to return to the city of Washington. He had not gone far, when he discovered a crowd collected about a triumphal arch, erected across the road, where it was intersected by a narrow path, then scarcely perceptible for the thickness of foliage. Over this path, which excited the attention and interest of the assembled multitude, young females were strewing flowers. It was the road opened or discovered by Lafayette, by which, on the night of the 15th of June, 1781, he evaded the vigilance of Cornwallis, and placed himself in an advantageous position, between the British army and their object, the magazines at Albemarle. (See p. 170.) This new proof of the honourable recollection of the Virginians, greatly affected Lafayette. The ladies covered Lafayette with flowers as he descended from his carriage, and beneath the triumphal arch he received the hearty congratulations of the people. Arrived at Fredericksburgh the same day, these congratulations were repeated, and terminated with a splendid supper and ball.

Such was the usual *finale* of the entertainments, in most of the cities and villages which Lafayette visited. The "grave and the gay, the lively and severe," were thus harmoniously united. The younger classes, the female population, beauty and vivacity, were thus enabled to welcome the "Nation's Guest," and to manifest their joy at beholding among them the hero, whose history to them was like a romance of chivalry—the champion, who came from a foreign land, to the rescue of their fathers and their mothers from bondage, and had revisited America, after a long

absence, to behold the fruits of his toils and sacrifices. To these vivid manifestations Lafayette gracefully submitted. He was affable in manners, and familiar in conversation, and felt himself at home in all situations. On these occasions, as throughout the declining period of his life, he enforced by his example the precept of the Christian philosopher :—" Let not the stricken in years forget that they were once young."

The session of Congress commenced on the 6th of December. Their first act after organization was one of publick congratulation and respect to Lafayette. He was introduced in form, first to the Senate and next to the House of Representatives. On entering the House, escorted by a deputation, the whole assembly rose and stood uncovered in silence. When he had reached the centre of the hall, the Speaker, Mr. Clay, thus addressed him :

" GENERAL—The house of representatives of the United States, impelled alike by its own feelings, and by those of the whole American people, could not have assigned to me a more gratifying duty, than that of presenting to you cordial congratulations upon the occasion of your recent arrival in the United States, in compliance with the wishes of congress, and to assure you of the very high satisfaction which your presence affords on this early theatre of your glory and renown. Although but few of the members who compose this body shared with you in the war of our revolution, all have, from impartial history or from faithful tradition, a knowledge of the perils, the sufferings, and the sacrifices which you voluntarily encountered, and the signal services, in America and in Europe, which you performed for an infant, a distant, and an alien people ; and all feel and own the very great extent of the obligations under which you have placed our country. But the relations in which you have ever stood to the United States, interesting and important as they have been, do not constitute the only motive of the respect and admiration which the house of representatives entertain for you. Your consistency of character, your uniform devotion to regulated liberty, in all the vicissitudes of a long and arduous life, also commands its admiration. During all the recent convulsions of Europe, amidst, as after the dispersion of, every political storm, the people of the United States have beheld you, true to your old principles, firm and erect, cheering and animating, with your well known voice, the votaries of liberty, its faithful and fearless champion, ready to shed the last drop of that blood which here you so freely and nobly spilt, in the same holy cause.

" The vain wish has been sometimes indulged, that Providence would allow the patriot, after death, to return to his country, and to contemplate the intermediate changes which had taken place—to view the forests felled, the cities built, the mountains levelled, the canals cut, the highways constructed, the progress of the arts, the advance-

ment of learning, and the increase of population—General, your present visit to the United States is a realization of the consoling object of that wish. You are in the midst of posterity. Every where, you must have been struck with the great changes, physical and moral, which have occurred since you left us. Even this very city, bearing a venerated name, alike endeared to you and to us, has since emerged from the forest which then covered its site. In one respect, you behold us unaltered, and this is in the sentiment of continued devotion to liberty, and of ardent affection and profound gratitude to your departed friend, the father of his country, and to you, and to your illustrious associates in the field and in the cabinet, for the multiplied blessings which surround us, and for the very privilege of addressing you, which I now exercise. This sentiment, now fondly cherished by more than ten millions of people, will be transmitted, with unabated vigour, down the tide of time, through the countless millions who are destined to inhabit this continent, to the latest posterity."

Lafayette, though greatly moved, advanced a few steps towards the speaker, and after a few moments of hesitation, delivered in a clear and audible voice the following reply :

*"Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives—* While the people of the United States, and their honourable representatives in congress, have deigned to make choice of me, one of the American veterans, to signify, in his person, their esteem for our joint services, and their attachment to the principles for which we have had the honour to fight and bleed, I am proud and happy to share those extraordinary favours with my dear revolutionary companions ; yet it would be, on my part, uncandid and ungrateful, not to acknowledge my personal share in those testimonies of kindness, as they excite in my breast emotions which no words are adequate to express.

" My obligations to the United States, sir, far exceed any merit I might claim ; they date from the time when I have had the happiness to be adopted as a young soldier, a favoured son of America ; they have been continued to me during almost a half century of constant affection and confidence ; and now, sir, thanks to your most gratifying invitation, I find myself greeted by a series of welcomes, one hour of which would more than compensate for the publick exertions and sufferings of a whole life.

" The approbation of the American people, and their representatives, for my conduct, during the vicissitudes of the European revolution, is the highest reward I could receive. Well may I *stand firm and erect*, when, in their names, and by you, Mr. Speaker, I am declared to have, in every instance, been faithful to those American principles of liberty, equality, and true social order, the devotion to which, as it has been from my earliest youth, so it shall continue to be to my latest breath.

" You have been pleased, Mr. Speaker, to allude to the peculiar felicity of my situation, when, after so long an absence, I am called to witness the immense improvements, the admirable communications, the prodigious creations, of which we find an example in this city, whose name itself is a venerated palladium ; in a word, all the gran-

deur and prosperity of those happy United States, who, at the same time they nobly secure the complete assertion of American independence, reflect, on every part of the world, the light of a far superior political civilization.

“ What better pledge can be given, of a persevering, national love of liberty, when these blessings are evidently the result of a virtuous resistance to oppression, and institutions founded on the rights of man, and the republican principles of self-government ?

“ No, Mr. Speaker, posterity has not begun for me, since, in the sons of my companions and friends, I find the same publick feelings ; and permit me to add, the same feelings in my behalf, which I have had the happiness to experience in their fathers.

“ Sir, I have been allowed, forty years ago, before a committee of a congress of thirteen states, to express the fond wishes of an American heart ; on this day, I have the honour and enjoy the delight, to congratulate the representatives of the Union, so vastly enlarged, on the realization of those wishes, even beyond every human expectation, and upon the almost infinite prospects we can with certainty anticipate ; permit me, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the house of representatives, to join to the expression of those sentiments, a tribute of my lively gratitude, affectionate devotion, and profound respect.”

To these honourable proceedings, a more substantial proof of the gratitude of the nation succeeded. The president, in his message, had recommended the subject to the consideration of Congress ; the publick sentiment, every where expressed, enforced upon the representatives of the people the recommendation of the president. In compliance therewith, a committee of Congress promptly reported a bill, granting to Lafayette, in compensation for his important services and expenditures during the American revolution, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, and one complete township of land, to be located on any of the publick lands which remain unsold.

In advocating this bill, Mr. Hayne of South Carolina, chairman of the committee of the Senate which reported it, stated the fact, that Lafayette, during the six years he had been engaged in the service of America, had expended one hundred and forty thousand dollars of his fortune. It is stated elsewhere, that he diminished his fortune in the service of this country, at least two hundred thousand dollars, which is doubtless nearer the truth. In the language of Mr. Hayne, “ he was in a state of prosperity, and in the enjoyment of a plentiful fortune in his own country, when he resolved to come to this. He purchased a ship, raised, equipped, armed and clothed a regiment at his own expense ;

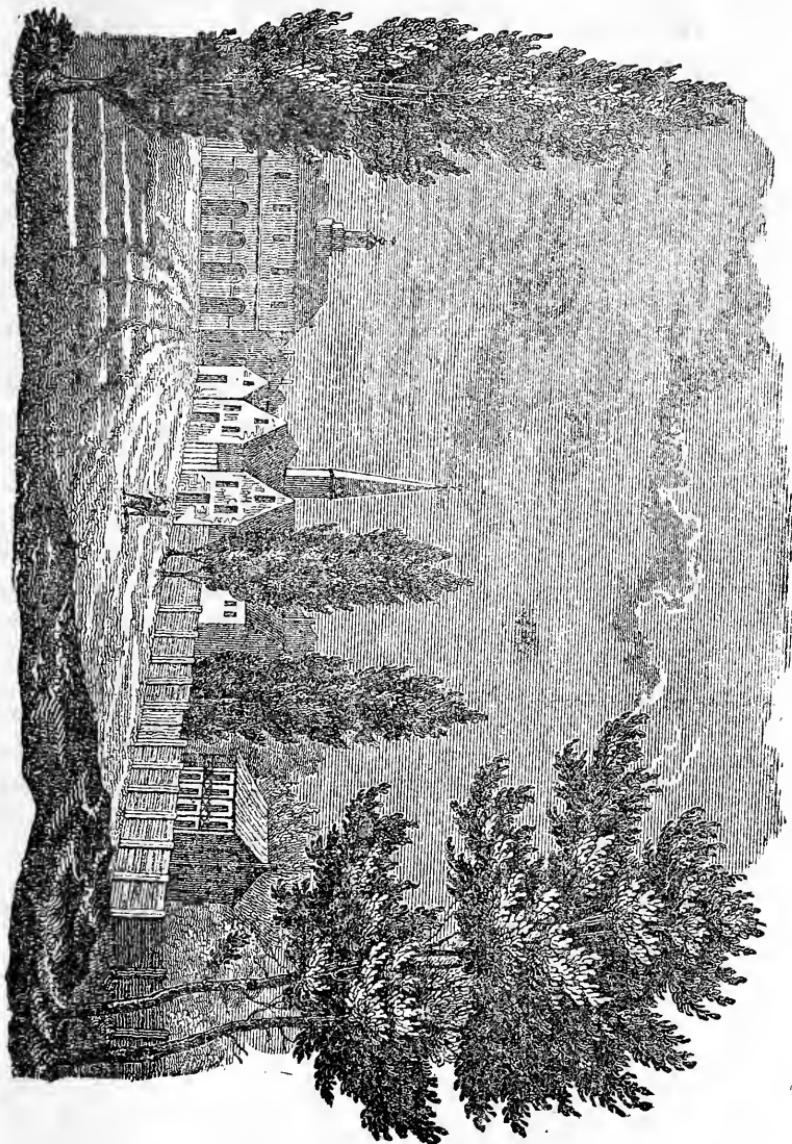
and when he landed on these coasts, he came freighted with the munitions of war, which he distributed gratuitously to our army. It is on record that he clothed and put shoes on the feet of the naked, suffering soldiers of America, and that during six years he sacrificed one hundred and forty thousand [200,000] dollars. He asked for no compensation—he made out no account—he received no pay—he spent his fortune for this country ; and not only gave his services, but hazarded his life in its defence, shed his blood in its service, and returned home, broken in his fortune.” To this catalogue of Lafayette’s sacrifices and services might have been added, that the remnants of his estates were confiscated ; his family persecuted, and he himself confined five years in loathsome dungeons, for his devotion to the cause of America, and to those principles upon which her existence as a free nation depends. The bill, therefore, which we have recited, and which, with the opposition of a few constitutionally scrupulous members, promptly passed both houses of Congress, was the acknowledgment and payment of a pecuniary debt. It was the embodying, but not the exhaustion, of those grateful feelings which had been enthusiastically expressed, and will be enduringly cherished, by the whole American people, towards the illustrious defender of their country, and the benefactor of the human race.

Lafayette, while this bill was matured and passed, was at Annapolis, unconscious of what was going forward at Washington. He had been invited there by the legislature, to receive publick congratulations in behalf of the people of Maryland. On returning to Washington, he was surprised and embarrassed by the munificent act of Congress. Neither claiming nor expecting such a remuneration, he hesitated about its acceptance. A proffer thus honourably tendered, in behalf of a whole people, could not well be declined. That it was opportune, both in character and season, is not to be denied. Possessed of Lagrange, and the mutilated fields of Chevaniac, as the sole property of his family, upon which he had exhausted his resources in improvements, Lafayette, when he came to America, was comparatively poor and in debt. Tracing the progress and causes of his pecuniary condition, it was a glorious penury, which could not be more appropriately and gloriously relieved than by the just munificence of the American people.

The act and resolutions of Congress, were presented to Lafayette by a joint committee, accompanied by an appropriate address. In his reply, Lafayette said:—"The immense and unexpected gift, which, in addition to former and considerable bounties, it has pleased Congress to confer upon me, calls for the warmest acknowledgments of an old American soldier, an adopted son of the United States, two titles dearer to my heart than all the treasures of the world. However proud I am of every sort of obligation received from the people of the United States, and their representatives in Congress, the large extent of this benefaction might have created in my mind feelings of hesitation, not inconsistent, I hope, with those of the most grateful reverence. But the so very kind resolutions of both houses, delivered by you, gentlemen, in terms of equal kindness, preclude all other sentiments except those of the lively and profound gratitude of which, in respectfully accepting the munificent favour, I have the honour to beg you will be the organs."

Lafayette, having received numerous and pressing invitations from legislative bodies, cities, villages and individuals, left Washington the 23d of Feb., on a tour through the southern and western states. He passed, nearly by the route he had travelled in 1777, through Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, to Charleston—greeted and welcomed every where, with all the warmth of southern patriotism and hospitality. The inhabitants of Lafayetteville, North Carolina, received Lafayette with the greatest enthusiasm, as the patron saint or father of their beautiful village. After conducting him to the residence of Duncan M'Rae, Esq. where splendid quarters had been prepared for him, the chairman of the committee exclaimed:—"You are here in your own town, your own house, surrounded by your children. Dispose of all—every thing is yours." The founders of this town, situated on the western bank of the River Cape Fear, were the first to adopt the name of Lafayette, in gratitude for his services to their country, although there are now more than fifty bearing his name, or portions of it, and numbers named Lagrange, in the United States. A drawing of it was taken by M. Say, son of the celebrated political economist, who passed through it in 1814, and presented to Lafayette. From his recollection of this drawing, he recognized the town on his approach to it in 1825.

VIEW OF FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA.





The town of Camden, South Carolina, is consecrated in our revolutionary annals, as the field of the unfortunate battle in which the brave De Kalb, then second in command to Gen. Gates, sacrificed his life in the cause of liberty. He fell, after performing prodigies of valour at the head of the Delaware and Maryland troops, covered by eleven wounds. The occasion of Lafayette's arrival was embraced by the citizens of South Carolina to lay the corner stone of a monument about to be erected at Camden, to the memory of De Kalb. To none could the solemn office of founding this just memorial to disinterested valour, have been more appropriately assigned than to Lafayette.— Through the influence of their kindred principles, De Kalb and Lafayette became acquainted in France. Actuated by the same holy ardour, they offered their services at the same time to the American Commissioners in Paris. They crossed the Atlantick in the same vessel, entered together the American army, and contended gallantly for the cause of freedom—the one until death, the other until victory. The attendant concourse was large, and the ceremonies appropriate and imposing. Over the remains of De Kalb, which were deposited in the monument with military honours, the stone was laid by Lafayette, and bore the following inscription :—*This stone was placed over the remains of Baron De Kalb by General Lafayette, 1825.* After this ceremony, Lafayette, deeply affected, addressed those present, and paid to his old companion in arms the tribute due to his private virtues, his military talents, and the distinguished bravery with which he had sacrificed his life in the cause of liberty.

In the city of Charleston, Lafayette had experienced, on his first landing in America, the earliest and warmest greetings. Its citizens were anxious to manifest that they still cherished their respect for him, and that their patriotism and hospitality were undiminished. The reception of Lafayette in that city, was therefore in every respect as splendid and cordial as it had been in any of the northern cities. Among the military escort assigned to him, was an entire volunteer company of French citizens, whose uniform was precisely similar to that worn by the national guards of Paris, when commanded by Lafayette, during the French revolution. But the circumstance most gratifying to La-

fayette, was the presence of his gallant friend Huger, the son of the person at whose house he was received on first landing in America, and the same who was associated with Doct. Bollman, in the generous and hazardous attempt to effect the escape of Lafayette from the fortress of Olmutz. Col. Huger was placed in the same triumphal car with Lafayette, and shared in the honours and hospitalities so profusely bestowed upon him during his stay in Charleston; and on his leaving the city, the authorities presented to Lafayette, a portrait of Col. Huger, in an elegant frame of solid gold.

After a stay of three days, Lafayette left Charleston on the 17th of March, by water, for Savannah, in Georgia. While in that city, he officiated in laying the foundation stones of two monuments, which the citizens of Savannah were about to rear, to two of his distinguished revolutionary associates. One of these was in honour of General Greene, the brave Commander of the Southern Department, and the other of Count Pulaski, the gallant Polish patriot, who after contending in vain for the liberties of his native land, voluntarily joined the American standard, and nobly fell, rushing at full speed upon the foe, at the head of his cavalry, in the unfortunate attack of the French and American forces upon Savannah, Oct. 9th, 1779. Passing rapidly through the State of Georgia, Lafayette received the brief and cordial hospitalities of its citizens. His route thence was through the Indian country, the residence of the Cherokee and Creek tribes, who have since been driven by the onward march of—shall we say—*civilization?* to a broader forest home beyond the Mississippi. The journey of Lafayette among these primitive sons of America, was deeply interesting to him and his companions. During a portion of their route, the country was then in a transition state, between savage and civilized life; and the white residents appeared, many of them, to be greater savages than the Indians whom they were supplanting. The name of Lafayette had been cherished in tradition among the Indian tribes. They addressed him as their white father, the agent of the Great Spirit, the great warriour from France, who came in former days to free them from the tyranny of the English. They received him with wild and primitive demonstrations of joy and welcome, and performed before him their war dances,

sham fights and favourite savage games. The most distinguished among them in these athletick exercises, was young Chilli McIntosh, son of the celebrated chief of that name, who had received an education at one of the eastern colleges, and had returned to the dress and habits of savage life. Resuming the European dress, he accompanied Lafayette to the borders of Alabama. He appeared melancholy, and deeply sensible of the degradation and rapid diminution of his race. After taking an impressive leave of Lafayette and his son, he met, in retiring, M. Levasseur; he stopped, placed the right arm of Levasseur on his, and elevating his left hand towards heaven, exclaimed "Farewell ! always accompany our father, and watch over him. I will pray to the Great Spirit also to watch over him, and give him a speedy and safe return to his children in France. His children are our brothers; he is our father. I hope that he will not forget us."

On the borders of the Indian country, Lafayette was met by an escort from Alabama, and at Montgomery, one day's journey within the state, by the governour and his staff, and a numerous concourse of citizens. Here he embarked on board a steam-boat, and descended the Alabama river. Stopping at Cahawba, Claiborne, and other towns, to receive those publick demonstrations which were in waiting for him, he reached Mobile on the 7th of April. Remaining but one day to gratify the hospitable inhabitants of that city, who had made great preparations to entertain him, he embarked on board the steam-boat Natchez, which had been sent by the municipal authorities of New Orleans, to convey the Nation's Guest to that city.

Lafayette was received in New Orleans, with a splendour and enthusiasm corresponding with the wealth, hospitality, and patriotism of the inhabitants. The French residents and descendants of its ancient French population, greeted him with characteristick fervour, and he had the satisfaction of meeting there with several of his old companions in arms, both of the American and French revolutions. The resources of entertainment were not exhausted, when Lafayette, amidst military parade, a large concourse of citizens, and cries of *Vive Lafayette!* re-embarked on board the steam-boat Natchez, accompanied by a delegation from Louisiana, to ascend the Mississippi. Touching for a short

time at Baton-Rouge, the next landing place was at the city of Natchez ; where due preparations had been made to receive him. After the first publick ceremonials, a man emerged from the crowd, and approaching Lafayette, waving his hat above his head, cried out, " Honour to the commander of the Parisian national guard. I was under your orders in '91, my general, in one of the battalions of the Filles-Saint-Thomas. I still love liberty as I loved it then. Long live Lafayette !" The general offered him his hand, and was deeply impressed by the unexpected incident of meeting one of his old soldiers of liberty, so far in the interiour of America. But similar incidents, occurring every where on his journey, and the mixed population of the fertile and rapidly improving western states and territories, served to illustrate the great truth, that America is indeed the "home of the free and the asylum of the oppressed."

Ascending to St. Louis, to fulfil his engagement with the people of that city, Lafayette thence returned down the Mississippi, to the mouth of the Ohio ; thence up that river to the Cumberland, and thence up the Cumberland to Nashville in Tennessee. A delegation from that state had met him on his way up the Mississippi, and procured from him the promise of a visit.

On landing at Nashville, Lafayette was received in behalf of the citizens of Tennessee, by General Andrew Jackson, the brave defender of New Orleans. They passed in a carriage to the city, under a triumphal arch, on which these words were inscribed, and repeated by an immense concourse of people : " *Welcome Lafayette, the friend of the United States !*" And a brilliant series of hospitalities and publick entertainment, proved the sincerity of this welcome, on the part of the patriotick State of Tennessee. Forty revolutionary soldiers, who had come from various parts of the state, were among the first to greet Lafayette on his arrival. One among them, of great age, rushed to the arms of Lafayette, and exclaimed, " I have enjoyed two happy days in my life, that when I landed with you at Charleston in 1777, and the present. Now that I have seen you once again, I have nothing more to wish for—I have lived long enough." This aged man, who had travelled more than one hundred miles to meet Lafayette, was a native of Germany, by the name of Hagy, who had come over to America in

the same vessel with Lafayette, and had been under his orders during the whole war of the revolution. While on a visit to the residence of Gen. Jackson, a pair of pistols which had been presented to the general, were shown to Lafayette. He recognized them as the same which he had presented in 1778 to his friend Gen. Washington, and expressed his satisfaction in finding them in the hands of one so worthy to possess them. Lafayette returned down the Cumberland, and again ascended the Ohio river.

After receiving the warm hospitality of the brave sons of Kentucky, at Louisville, Frankfort, Lexington, &c., and paying his respects to Mrs. Clay at Ashland, Mr. Clay being then absent at Washington, Lafayette proceeded to Cincinnati, Ohio. He was here received and addressed in behalf of the State of Ohio, by General Harrison, lately, and for so brief a period, President of the United States. To the cordial and patriotick address of Gen. Harrison, Lafayette returned a feeling reply. With his reception in that beautiful city, young and fresh from the hands of enterprise, and a happy illustration of the benefits and improvements flowing from the influence of our free institutions, Lafayette was peculiarly gratified. Here, as elsewhere, the ball succeeded the banquet; and from this scene of hilarity, at midnight on the 22d of May, Lafayette embarked for Wheeling, in Virginia.

From Wheeling, he passed into the State of Pennsylvania, through Brownville, Union Town, &c. Visited the field of Braddock's defeat, where the military talents and heroism of Washington were first elicited; received the brief and appropriate honours of the citizens of Pittsburgh, Franklin, Meadville, Waterford, and Erie, and entered upon the territory of the State of New York in the county of Chatauque. Anxious to get forward, having engaged to be in Boston on the 17th of June, to aid in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, and laying the corner-stone of the monument, of Bunker Hill, Lafayette passed rapidly through the State of New York. The rapidity of his passage, however, through the flourishing cities and villages of western New York, did not prevent their enterprising inhabitants from manifesting, with equal alacrity, their grateful feelings and hospitable intentions. Deeply impressed with these manifestations, and remarking, with astonish-

ment, the evidences of rapid improvement, wealth, and refinement, which every where met his eye, Lafayette pressed forward upon his journey, and reached Boston on the 15th of June—the very day upon which he had fixed for his arrival! Universal astonishment was expressed, at the journey he had performed. It appeared almost like magick. He had travelled, in less than four months, “a distance of upwards of five thousand miles, traversed seas near the equator, and lakes near the polar circle; ascended rapid rivers to the verge of civilization in the new world, and received the homage of sixteen republicks. And this astonishment was increased by the fact, that this extraordinary journey was performed by a man sixty-seven years of age!”

Lafayette was thus enabled to redeem what he considered a sacred promise, and to perform a sacred duty. On the 17th, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill was celebrated by an immense assemblage, nearly 50,000 in number. The solemn and distinguished office had been assigned to Lafayette of placing the corner stone of the *Bunker Hill Monument*—a proud national memorial, which has lingered in its progress, but is now in a fair way of speedy completion. That act was performed with imposing ceremonies, in masonick order. It was indeed a most interesting sight, to behold the veteran Lafayette, the last surviving general of the revolution, surrounded by many of his venerable companions in arms, founding the long delayed and well deserved monument of those brave men who were the first sacrifices in that arduous and successful contest for liberty. Mr. Webster, in an eloquent address, did justice to the occasion; and paid a feeling tribute to Lafayette and the revolutionary veterans who were present.

In compliance with numerous solicitations from those states, Lafayette made a rapid journey through Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. He entered the State of New York at Whitehall, and passed by the way of Saratoga, Troy, Albany, &c., to the city of New York, where he joined in the celebration of the 4th of July. After renewed publick honours, he took leave of that city; revisited Philadelphia; and from thence made a brief pilgrimage to the fields of battle at Germantown, Barren Hill, and Brandywine, to the last of which he was escorted by a great number of the revolutionary soldiers of Pennsylvania and Vir-

ginia, who had assembled for the purpose. After visiting Chester, Lancaster, and other towns in Pennsylvania, he returned by the way of Baltimore to the city of Washington. He became the guest of President Adams, and enjoyed several days of comparative repose, after his arduous and exciting journey.

The new frigate *Brandywine* had been tendered by President Adams, and accepted, to convey Lafayette to France; and, while preparations were making for the voyage, he twice, in company with the president, made short excursions into the State of Virginia. The principal object of Lafayette in these visits, was to take leave of the Ex-presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. They met him, for the last time, at Monticello, the residence of Mr. Jefferson. This parting interview between four aged veterans, all of whom were distinguished in the imperishable annals of their country, and upon three of whom had rested the supreme power of a nation, was solemn and sublime. They bid farewell, with a consciousness that they should meet no more on earth, and with the consolation, that their long career and their joint labours had been honourable to themselves and of enduring benefit to their fellow beings.

While in Virginia, Lafayette attended publick festivals given, or rather repeated, in honour of him, in Albermarle, Culpepper, and several other places. After his return to Washington, President Adams gave a grand dinner to commemorate the birthday of Lafayette, which closed the brilliant series of festive entertainment, and the last day of Lafayette in America.

We have endeavoured to sketch in the foregoing pages of this chapter, for the reader's comprehension, the outlines of Lafayette's astonishing tour through the American States, and to illustrate the true spirit and character of his reception throughout its progress. To have described all the interesting incidents of his tour, the places he visited, and the various modes which the people adopted to testify their joy and gratitude, would have filled a space greater than is designed for this volume. His whole course was one continued scene of triumph—not the triumph of conquest or of power—but of an individual unadorned by either,—venerated for his virtues, and triumphing in the affections and confidence, and in the grateful recollections, of a nation of

freemen. Every where, in the whole progress of his journey, his path was literally a path of roses. The civick wreath was united with the warriour's chaplet ; and the endearments of social life were mingled with the "pomp and circumstance" of military honours. There is no portion of Lafayette's life which afforded him more satisfaction, and none which will be regarded by an American with a prouder and deeper interest.

On the 7th of September, Lafayette took his departure. In the principal vestibule of the President's house, surrounded by the cabinet, by various publick officers, and a large concourse of citizens, President Adams took leave of him, in the name of the American people and government. After an eloquent summary of the services of Lafayette to America, and of his late journey and reception, throughout the states of the Union, the President concluded as follows :—

"The ship is now prepared for your reception, and equipped for sea. From the moment of her departure, the prayers of millions will ascend to heaven that her passage may be prosperous, and your return to the bosom of your family as propitious to your happiness, as your visit to this scene of your youthful glory has been to that of the American people.

"Go, then, our beloved friend—return to the land of brilliant genius, of generous sentiment, of heroick valour ; to that beautiful France, the nursing mother of the twelfth Louis, and the fourth Henry ; to the native soil of Bayard and Coligni, of Turenne and Catinat, of Fenelon and D'Aguesseau. In that illustrious catalogue of names which she claims as of her children, and with honest pride holds up to the admiration of other nations, the name of Lafayette has already for centuries been enrolled. And it shall henceforth burnish into brighter fame ; for if, in after days, a Frenchmen shall be called to indicate the character of his nation by that of one individual, during the age in which we live, the blood of lofty patriotism shall mantle in his cheek, the fire of conscious virtue shall sparkle in his eye, and he shall pronounce the name of Lafayette. Yet we, too, and our children, in life and after death, shall claim you for our own. You are ours by that more than patriotick self-devotion with which you flew to the aid of our fathers at the crisis of their fate. Ours by that long series of years in which you have cherished us in your regard. Ours by that unshaken sentiment of gratitude for your services which is a precious portion of our inheritance. Ours by that tie of love, stronger than death, which has linked your name, for the endless ages of time, with the name of Washington.

"At the painful moment of parting from you, we take comfort in the thought, that wherever you may be, to the last pulsation of your heart, our country will be ever present to your affections : and a cheering consolation assures us, that we are not called to sorrow most of all, that we shall see your face no more. We shall indulge the

pleasing anticipation of beholding our friend again. In the mean time, speaking in the name of the whole people of the United States, and at a loss only for language to give utterance to that feeling of attachment with which the heart of the nation beats, as the heart of one man—I bid you a reluctant and affectionate farewell."

Lafayette, with deep emotion, replied as follows:—

" Amidst all my obligations to the general government, and particularly to you, sir, its respected chief magistrate, I have most thankfully to acknowledge the opportunity given me, at this solemn and painful moment, to present the people of the United States with a parting tribute of profound, inexpressible gratitude.

" To have been, in the infant and critical days of these states, adopted by them as a favourite son, to have participated in the toils and perils of our unspotted struggle for independence, freedom and equal rights, and in the foundation of the American era of a new social order, which has already prevailed this, and must, for the dignity and happiness of mankind, successively pervade every part of the other hemisphere, to have received at every stage of the revolution, and during forty years after that period, from the people of the United States, and their representatives at home and abroad, continual marks of their confidence and kindness, has been the pride, the encouragement, the support of a long and eventful life.

" But how could I find words to acknowledge that series of welcomes, those unbounded and universal displays of publick affection, which have marked each step, each hour, of a twelve months' progress through the twenty-four states, and which, while they overwhelm my heart with grateful delight, have most satisfactorily evinced the concurrence of the people in the kind testimonies, in the immense favours bestowed on me by the several branches of their representatives, in every part and at the central seat of the confederacy ?

" Yet gratifications still higher await me ; in the wonders of creation and improvement that have met my enchanted eye, in the unparalleled and self-felt happiness of the people, in their rapid prosperity and ensured security, publick and private, in a practice of good order, the appendage of true freedom, and a national good sense, the final arbiter of all difficulties, I have had proudly to recognize a result of the republican principles for which we have fought, and a glorious demonstration to the most timid and prejudiced minds, of the superiority, over degrading aristocracy or despotism, of popular institutions founded on the plain rights of man, and where the local rights of every section are preserved under a constitutional bond of union. The cherishing of that union between the states, as it has been the farewell entreaty of our great paternal Washington, and will ever have the dying prayer of every American patriot, so it has become the sacred pledge of the emancipation of the world, an object in which I am happy to observe that the American people, while they give the animating example of successful free institutions, in return for an evil entailed upon them by Europe, and of which a liberal and enlightened sense is every where more and more generally felt, show themselves every day more anxiously interested.

" And now, sir, how can I do justice to my deep and lively feelings

for the assurances, most peculiarly valued, of your esteem and friendship, for your so very kind references to old times, to my beloved associates, to the vicissitudes of my life, for your affecting picture of the blessings poured by the several generations of the American people on the remaining days of a delighted veteran, for your affectionate remarks on this sad hour of separation, on the country of my birth, full, I can say, of American sympathies, on the hope so necessary to me of my seeing again the country that has deigned, near a half century ago, to call me hers ? I shall content myself, refraining from superfluous repetitions, at once, before you, sir, and this respected circle, to proclaim my cordial confirmation of every one of the sentiments which I have had daily opportunities publickly to utter, from the time when your venerable predecessor, my old brother in arms and friend, transmitted to me the honourable invitation of congress, to this day, when you, my dear sir, whose friendly connexions with me dates from your earliest youth, are going to consign me to the protection, across the Atlantick, of the heroick national flag, on board the splendid ship, the name of which has been not the least flattering and kind among the numberless favours conferred upon me.

“ God bless you, sir, and all who surround us. God bless the American people, each of their states, and the federal government. Accept this patriotick farewell of an overflowing heart ; such will be its last throb when it ceases to beat.”

Amidst publick demonstration of deep respect, and deeper regret, Lafayette entered the steam-boat Mount Vernon, accompanied by several officers of the government, descended to the mouth of the Potomack, and embarked on board of the frigate Brandywine. On the 8th of September, the Brandywine got under way, and Lafayette bid a final adieu to the shores of America.

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### CHAPTER XXX.

Lafayette arrives at Havre—Parting with the officers of the Brandywine—His reception at Lagrange—Carter’s description of Lagrange, of the family, and domestick life of Lafayette—Benevolent acts of Lafayette—He mingles again in publick affairs—In the Chamber of Deputies—His visit to Chevaniac—Popular manifestations—The precursors of a new revolution—Revolution of July, 1830—Lafayette’s prominent share in it—Is appointed commander-in-chief of the military—Repairs, in popular triumph, to the Hotel de Ville—His proclamation to the people and the army.

AFTER a passage of twenty-four days, Lafayette once more beheld the shores of his native France. A part of his

family, and many of his intimate friends, were in waiting at Havre to welcome his return. To the officers of the Brandywine, Lafayette had become doubly endeared by his deportment during the voyage. They surrounded him, when about to leave the vessel, with every demonstration of respect, and grief at parting. The first Lieutenant, Gregory, who had been commissioned by them to express their sentiments on the occasion, was unable from his emotions to give utterance to his words ; but, with a sudden and fortunate impulse, he seized the American flag which floated at the stern of the vessel, rapidly detached it, and presented it to Lafayette, exclaiming, “ We cannot confide it to more glorious keeping ! Take it, dear general, may it ever recall to you your alliance with the American nation ; may it also sometimes recall to your recollection those who will never forget the happiness they enjoyed of passing twenty-four days with you on board the Brandywine ; and in being displayed twice a year on the tower of your hospitable dwelling, may it recall to your neighbours the anniversary of two great epochs, whose influence on the whole world is incalculable—the birth of Washington, and the declaration of the independence of our country.”

The general replied. “ I accept it with gratitude, and I hope that, displayed from the most prominent part of my house at Lagrange, it will always testify to all who may see it the kindness of the American nation towards its adopted and devoted son. And I also hope, that when you or your fellow countrymen visit me, it will tell you, that at Lagrange you are not on a foreign soil.”

For Lagrange Lafayette departed the next day after landing at Havre. On the way he stopped at Rouen, at the house of an old friend and colleague. A crowd of people, accompanied by a band of musick, assembled to manifest their respect for him. Lafayette from the balcony had commenced returning them his acknowledgments, when a detachment of royal guards and gens-d’armes charged upon the unarmed citizens, to disperse them, and several were severely wounded. The gens.d’armes, with drawn sabres, accompanied the carriage of Lafayette to the hotel where he was to spend the night. But here, a party of young men of the place surrounded the door, kept back the minions of authority, and secured to the citizens an opportunity of

paying their respects to their distinguished champion. The next morning a numerous escort of these young men accompanied Lafayette along the first stage of his journey. These incidents showed, that he still retained the love of the people and the hatred of despotism and its instruments.

The next day, October 9th, Lafayette arrived at La-grange, where the inhabitants of that and the neighbouring districts had been for three days preparing to welcome his return.

"At a certain distance from the chateau (says Levasseur) the carriage made a halt, the general alighted, and found himself suddenly in the midst of a population whose eager transports might have deceived the eye of a stranger, and induced him to suppose that the whole were Lafayette's children. Till evening the chateau was filled by the crowd, which with the greatest difficulty separated from Lafayette. The inhabitants retired only after having conducted him by the light of illuminations and the sound of musick, under a triumphal arch, bearing an inscription in which they had awarded to him the title of 'The people's friend.' There he was again greeted with the expression of the happiness and joy caused by the return to his good neighbours. During the whole of the next day, the general was occupied in receiving the young girls, who brought flowers and sang couplets to him; also the company of the National Guard of Court-Palais, and a deputation from the town of Rosay. The inhabitants of the commune, while offering a box of flowers to their friend, addressed him in a simple and affecting speech, through M. Fricotelle, the head of the deputation; and no sooner had the harangue been pronounced, than the whole rushed into the general's arms, and afterward into those of his son, M. George Lafayette. A few days thereafter, the inhabitants of Rosay and the environs, offered a brilliant fete to Lafayette, the expense of which was defrayed by a general subscription. The prepartives, which occupied several days' labour, were the work of a portion of the citizens who refused the assistance of a single hired labourer. At five o'clock in the evening, the apartments and the courts of the chateau of La-grange were filled by upwards of four thousand persons, many of whom had travelled several leagues to do homage to the man whose name dwelt on ever ytongue, as '*The people's friend.*' At seven o'clock, a troop of young girls, marching at the head of the population of Rosay, and singing some simple and affecting couplets in chorus, presented a basket of flowers to the general; and M. Vigne, in the name of the canton, delivered a speech expressive of the most noble sentiments. Lafayette, after thanking the inhabitants of the canton for their kind reception of him, terminated by saying:—'I am now restored to this retreat of La-grange, which is dear to me for so many reasons, and to those agricultural occupations to which you know that I am so much attached, and in which I have for many years participated with you, my dear neighbours, and with most of the friends by whom I am now surrounded. Your affection, which I most cordially return, renders them doubly precious to me. I entreat

you all to accept my thanks for the handsome and affecting fete which you have prepared for me, and which fills my heart with joy, tenderness, and gratitude.' After this answer, which was received with the utmost enthusiasm, the general was conducted in triumph on the meadow, where an elegant tent had been arranged for himself and his family. Illuminations tastefully disposed, fireworks, animated dances, a number of shops of every description, a population of more than six thousand individuals—in a word, every thing contributed to remind Lafayette of some of the scenes of his triumphs in America. Dancing was kept up all night: the cries of '*Long live the people's friend?*' re-echoed till daybreak, and the next morning Lafayette retired within the bosom of his family, and enjoyed the happiness and the tranquillity which the recollections of a well-spent life can alone confer."

The beautiful retreat to which Lafayette was thus welcomed—where he had passed most of his time in rural pursuits for twenty years, and where he hoped to spend the remainder of his life, has been described by many writers who were so fortunate as to have enjoyed its hospitalities. None of their descriptions, however, are more interesting, and none more correct, than that of our amiable countryman, Nathaniel H. Carter. Soon after the return of Lafayette to France, Professor Carter paid a visit to Lagrange. He was then travelling in Europe, principally for the restoration of his health; but that object was pursued in vain. The admirers of his genius, the friends who knew and estimated his virtues, had soon to deplore his premature death. But the fruits of his observations during his European tour, and the evidences of his literary attainments and the purity of his sentiments and style of writing, are comprised in two large volumes, published soon after his return, entitled "Letters from Europe," &c. From one of these volumes the following account of his visit to Lagrange, and of the family and domestick life of Lafayette, is taken:

"On the morning of the 27th of December, 1825, we took the diligence for the village of Rose, within about two miles of which Lagrange is situated, forty miles in an easterly direction from Paris.

"Midway in the journey, the diligence stopped at a small inn to take breakfast or dinner, call it which you will, as the bill of fare is generally much the same, not even excepting soup. On the plate from which I took my mutton chop, was a representation of General Lafayette on horseback, in the attitude of storming a fortress, with the following inscription:

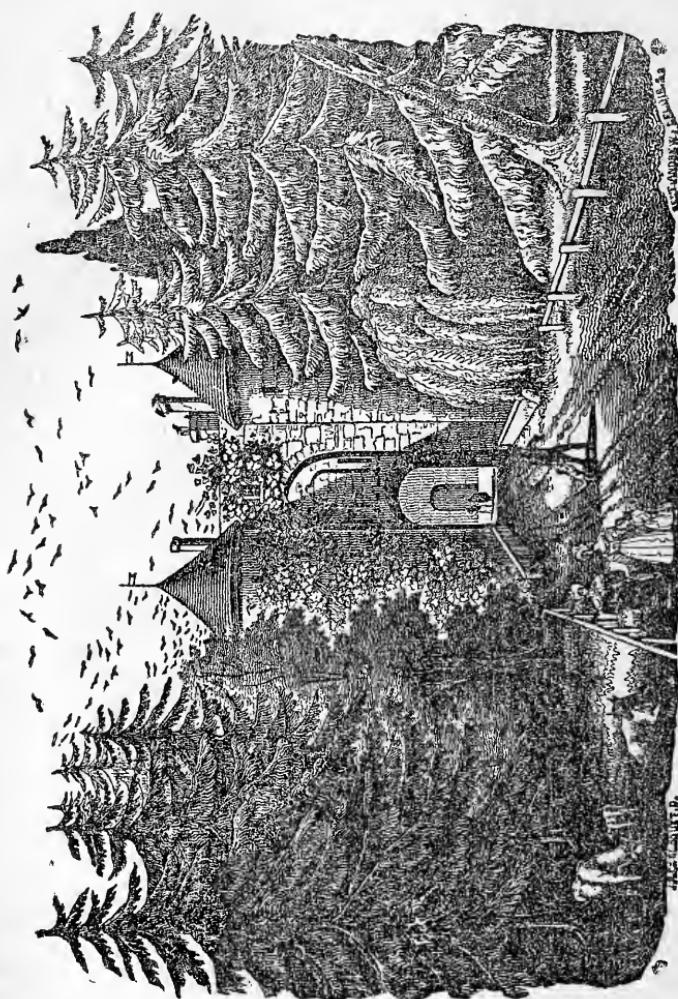
*'Il s'elance le premier dans la Redoute.'*  
He throws himself first in the redoubt.

" We reached the village of Rose at 5 o'clock in the evening ; and that no unnecessary claims might be made to the hospitality of Gen. Lafayette, or his family subjected to any inconvenience, we dined at the hotel, before taking a carriage and setting out for Lagrange. On arriving at the chateau, the general gave us a warm reception, and presented us to his numerous and interesting family, consisting of a son, two daughters, and twelve grandchildren, with a beautiful and accomplished daughter of Count Segur, together with two or three other inmates, making in all a circle of something more than twenty. Simplicity, politeness, and affability of manners, genuine kindness of heart, and unaffected hospitality characterize the whole group, from the patriarch himself down to the youngest of his descendants. They need only the American name, a claim to nativity in the land of Washington and Franklin, to call forth all the warmth and generosity of their feelings, making the stranger at once at home, and treating him with the cordiality of a friend or brother. The only uneasiness which the visitant experiences, arises from a fear, that the proverbial politeness of the French, accompanied with all the enthusiasm of feeling, will subject the family to inconveniences on his account, and lead them to do too much for his happiness.

" The evening glided away delightfully and almost imperceptibly, in the midst of conversation on a variety of topics, chiefly relating to our country ; for the inmates of the chateau talk and seem to think of nothing else than the United States, where their feelings, their hopes, and wishes, all centre. The general considers himself emphatically a citizen of the American Republick, and familiarly speaks of it precisely in the same way, as if he had been there born and educated.

" Before retiring to our chambers to dream only of Lagrange, we examined some of the principal rooms of the chateau, our hospitable friends kindly acting as expositors. The furniture is perfectly neat, and even elegant, but bears no marks of extravagance or luxury ; nothing which is incompatible with a refined taste, and a republican simplicity of manners ; nothing which does not conduce more to convenience and comfort than to show ; and which could be compared, in point of richness and splendour, as the general himself remarked, with what he had gratuitously been made master of in his tour through the United States. The ornaments are nearly all American. In the hall at the head of the stair-way, and forming the entrance to the drawing room, is a portrait of General Washington, with the colours of the frigate Brandywine, (presented by Commodore Morris on his arrival at Havre,) hung in graceful festoons around the almost idolized picture. On the right of the Father of his country, is a fine portrait of Franklin, copied by one of the accomplished granddaughters of General Lafayette. In a conspicuous part of the hall stands an admirable bust of President Adams, presented by Mrs. Adams, just before the general left Washington. To these are added a portrait of Commodore Morris, (taken by particular request,) and several pictures connected with the history of our revolution. The rotunda, or drawing room contains, besides other decorations, a painting of the siege of Yorktown, and a portrait of General Wadsworth, the revolutionary friend of Lafayette.





LAGRANGE—PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE TO THE CHATEAU.

" At 10 o'clock, which is uniformly the hour for retiring at Lagrange, we took leave of the circle for the night, and were shown into our bedchambers, after having been notified that the ringing of the chateau bell would summon us to breakfast at 10 the next morning. Our apartments were in the same style of neatness and comfort as the sitting-rooms, with a cheerful wood fire blazing upon the hearth, and carpets covering the polished oaken floor. As is usual in French houses, furnished with fewer conveniences than this, each chamber had a bureau, or scrutoire, containing an ample supply of pen, ink, and paper, together with other appendages for writing, all under lock and key. The temptations of such comforts, the whistling of the wind round the Gothick turrets and antique windows of the chateau, with the delights of a fireside reverie on the events of the day, induced us to protract our waking dreams to a late hour.

" In the morning a grey-headed servant, who is almost as old as the master whom he loves, and from whom he has imbibed his kindness of heart, opened the door gently, and performed his office of re-kindling the fire, with such studied quiet as would scarcely disturb the slumbers of a sick bed. We reached the drawing-room in season to see the members of the happy family appear, one after another, and share the paternal kiss. Breakfast was served up in a large hall on the ground floor, in the usual French style, with wine, and coffee after the dessert. The table was crowned with abundance, without superfluity; and a circle of smiling faces would have rendered a less sumptuous repast agreeable. Among the rarer dishes, was a kind of pie extremely rich and delicate, sent as a rarity to the general from some of his friends at Strasbourg.

" After breakfast was over we walked out in company with Washington Lafayette and the whole group of ladies, to examine the exterior of the chateau, and the farm, of which hardly a glance had as yet been obtained. Lagrange was formerly a fortified baronial castle; and notwithstanding the modifications it has undergone, much of its antique and feudal character still remains. It was once surrounded by a deep double moat, sections of which, filled with water, have been preserved, and the residue filled up, either for the sake of health or convenience. The edifice consists of a centre, perhaps a hundred feet in length, with two wings of about the same dimensions, and joining it at right angles. From traces still visible, a gallery evidently extended across at the other extremity of the wings, enclosing a quadrangular court-yard, strongly defended, with only one entrance under a lofty arch in the northern wall, guarded by a portcullis.

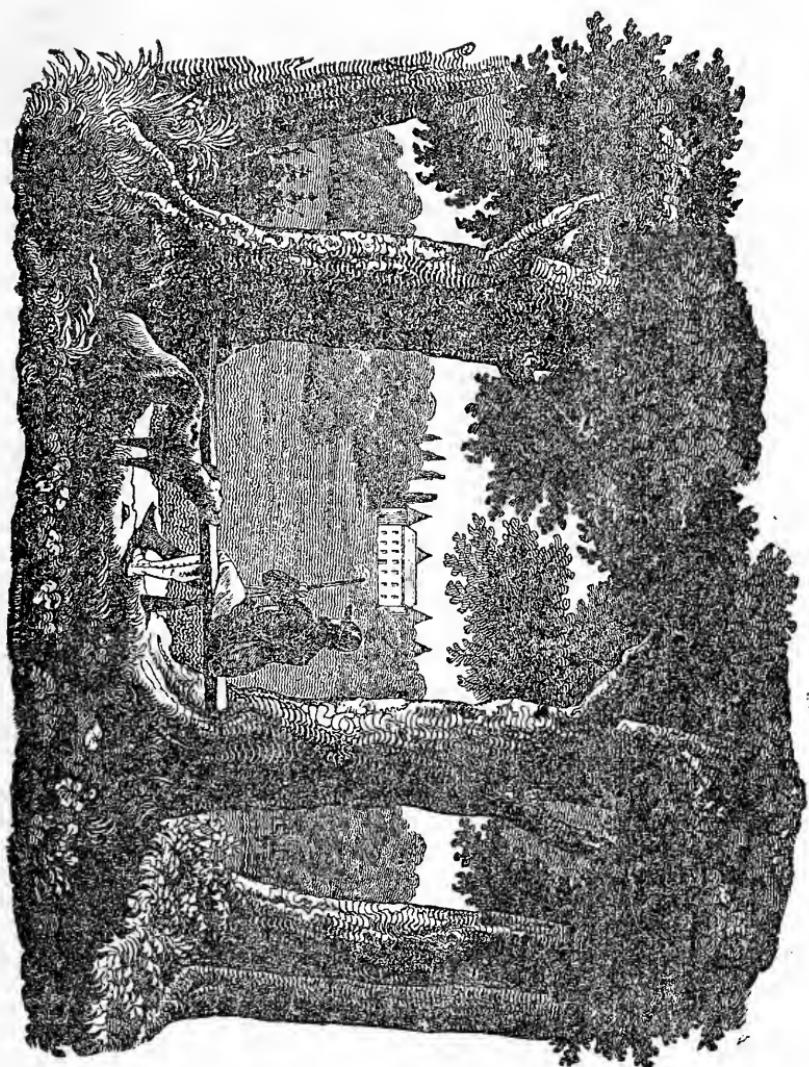
" The chateau is three stories high, plainly constructed of a hard and dark coloured stone, rendered of a deeper hue by its venerable age and long exposure to the climate. Two Gothick towers of a conical shape rise from the ends of each of the wings, and form almost the only ornament. The approach is by a winding avenue on the northern side, leading through a thick grove of evergreens and other trees, and under the arch already mentioned, around which hang festoons of ivy, planted by the celebrated Charles James Fox, in one of his visits to Lagrange. The beautiful plant is as green as his memory, and mantles nearly the whole façade of the chateau. Its luxuriant foliage, shading the gray walls, the thick copse bordering the

moat, and the four antique turrets, half concealed by the intervening branches, present a view on this side, seldom equalled in air of rural, quiet, and unostentatious retirement. An artist from our country has taken several very exact sketches of Lagrange, [two of which are annexed.]

"As the morning was bright and pleasant, though the ground, yet verdant, was covered with a heavy hoar frost, we made a circuit of a mile or two over the farm, which is one of the largest as well as the most complete in France. It contains five hundred acres, [800 acres, 500 cultivated and 300 in woods and meadows,] lying in one body, in a circular form, with the chateau in the centre. Great pains have been taken to round it off in this way, by exchanges of contiguous territory. It is divided according to the most approved models, into suitable proportions of tillage, pasture and woodland, with the minor compartments of gardens and orchards. The general has planted *three thousand* apple trees, which are yet small, but thrifty, opening in vistas all over his plantation. He is much engaged in the cultivation of fruit of the best kinds.

"The soil of this large tract, though not perhaps remarkable for its natural fertility, has been highly improved by culture, and yields wheat, with other agricultural products, in abundance. It is finely wooded and watered. Half a mile from the house, in the direction of Rose, there is a large and living fountain, cradled in a green vale, and sheltered from the sun in summer by a grove of venerable oaks. Its limpid waters at this season, repose on a bed of autumnal leaves, and are as pure as they are copious. From this rural and secluded retreat, a distant view of the chateau on one side, and of two little villages, with a spire to each, and the smoke curling above them, on the other, makes a quiet and charming picture. Not far from the fountain, Washington Lafayette, (whose name perhaps I use somewhat familiarly for the sake of distinction,) is much engaged in constructing an ice-house, upon the plan of some of those he saw in our country. In short, nearly all the improvements of Lagrange, now in progress, are according to American models.

"On our return from this delightful promenade, and after resting for a few minutes, we were merely consigned from the hands of one part of the family, to receive the assiduous attentions of another. The general himself accompanied us to the farm-yard, which in point of practical utility, is more interesting, especially to the eye of an American, than all the parks and pleasure-grounds we have seen in Europe. A range of buildings extends quite round an open area, containing perhaps an acre. The first of these is the granary, which was once a chapel, and the turret of which is yet left standing. Men were at work in winnowing wheat of an excellent quality. The second department is appropriated to all kinds of poultry, among which were wild geese from the banks of the Mississippi. A flock of about a thousand merinos, prettily feeding at their long ranges of cribs, occupied another portion of the buildings. It was odd enough to see the little lambs bearing on their backs the same name which had graced our triumphal arches; and to witness the hero himself engaged in the construction of stalls and folds on a new plan recommended in some of the agricultural journals of the United States.



VIEW OF LAGRANGE FROM THE PARK.



Among the twenty-two cows, are eight from Switzerland, sent to the general by his friends in that country; and four of the Holkham breed, presented by Mr. Patterson, of Baltimore. The assortment of horses is as extensive as the other kind of domestick animals. In making the circuit, we next came to the farm-house, kitchen and dairy, the walls of which are ornamented with a map of the whole plantation, designating the ground appropriated to each department. Then follow the pens containing several rare species of animals, among which are wild turkeys and partridges from the United States, (intended if possible to be domesticated;) ducks which came as a present from the Garden of Plants, at Paris; and a pair of beautiful Mexican pheasants. For the latter, and for the American partridge, a new house is going up, to be artificially warmed by a stove. To these animals may be added a dog from Washington, and a racoon from our forests, who are inmates of the chateau instead of the farm-yard. The latter is so tame as to play about the parlour and climb up into the general's lap.

"At 5 o'clock the bell called us to dinner, which was bountiful, and served up without any formal parade. Among the peculiar dishes were lentiles, much resembling boiled peas; and a rich kind of pastry, such as we had not found in the infinite assortment of a Paris table. A dessert of apples, pears, and dry fruits, with three or four varieties of wine, including champagne, crowned the festivities of the board.

"On retiring to the drawing-room, a large folio volume, bound with red morocco, and richly gilt, was found lying upon the table. It was presented to the general just before he sailed from Washington; and contains a transcript of all the addresses to him by the authorities of New York. The specimens of ornamental penmanship are certainly elegant, and have excited general admiration at the chateau. By its side was a voluminous portfolio, containing portraits and autographs of publick personages in France since the commencement of the revolution, both brought out for our amusement.

"After tea the ladies favoured us with a great variety of songs and musick upon the piano, which they play with much taste and skill. One of the number, finding that her voice and execution could contribute to the enjoyments of the social circle, and forgetting herself in endeavouring to add to the common stock of pleasure, continued to sit at the piano till she was solicited to leave it, instead of the ordinary request to remain longer. This mark of politeness was so peculiar, that it appeared to me worthy of record and imitation. Among the musical pieces was one or two composed in the United States, during the general's visit.

"At 9 o'clock in the evening we manifested an intention to return to Rose that night, and set out for Paris next morning, desirous that if the hospitality of the family was not already exhausted by a visit, which seemed too long for strangers who had no other claim than simply that of being Americans, a share of it might be reserved for others, upon the republican principle of equality. But at Lagrange, feelings of generosity and kindness towards even the humblest citizens of the United States know no bounds. Favour after favour descends spontaneously upon the visiting like the dew; and in view of

the paternal affection manifested on this occasion, our country might address to its illustrious benefactor the forcible apostrophe, "inasmuch as thou hast done it unto the least of these my children, thou hast done it unto me." Pretexts as plausible as genuine hospitality requires, were urged with a politeness that could not be resisted, and the result was a happy prolongation of our visit.

"After breakfast on the following morning, the general conducted us to his library, which is on the third floor, in one corner of the chateau. The windows, which in summer are shaded by a copse of trees, lifting their aged branches from below, look in two directions, and command a view of a rural domain, such as Cincinnatus or Washington would have enjoyed, and such as its own proprietor would not have exchanged for an empire. In the ante-chamber, and the apartment itself, are several likenesses of his friends, transatlantick as well as European; and in several neat cases, on which the utmost care has been bestowed, are deposited all the little presents he has received from our countrymen, from the sacred memorials of his beloved Washington, down to the humblest pledges of gratitude and esteem collected in his late tour. The whole makes an extensive museum, which is guarded with more vigilance, and is shown by the family with more delight, than would apparently be felt in exhibiting the costliest collection of diamonds. All the articles were taken out of their places for our inspection; and the history of them detailed with a familiarity which proved how much they are valued. One of the most conspicuous of these memorials is a beautiful model of the water-works at Philadelphia, which the general took to pieces, to point out the ingenuity of its construction.

"The library itself contains about two thousand volumes of well selected books. A large proportion of these were presented by his friends. One compartment is filled entirely with American works, containing a majority of our best publications. Additions are daily making to the collection, by the attentions of his correspondents. The Phi Beta Kappa Oration of Mr. Everett, and the Address of Mr. Webster before the Bunker Hill Association are cherished among the choicest treasures. It was a curious incident, that I should here recognize the copy of the Columbiad, which had been brought to me at New York a year previous, for examination as a specimen of splendid binding, before it was presented to Lafayette.

"Having passed an hour or two in the library, and glanced at its interesting contents, we took another long walk with the ladies over the farm, pursuing a different route from what had been taken on the preceding day, and treading many a bypath in a long circuit through the wood-lands.

"In the midst of walks, conversations and enjoyments, the hour of dinner again came round. By this time, our places at table had been as perfectly learned, as if we had become permanent inmates of the chateau. Another evening of musick and social pleasure was added to the sum of our happiness. At 8 or 9 o'clock, an intention was again signified to go to Rose, in readiness for the diligence the next morning. But "it would be madness to go to the hotel that night, where the accomodations were not good; besides, it was snowing, and the weather was unpleasant: a servant should be sent to engage

places for us, and it would be easy to reach the village by 8 o'clock, the hour for the departure of the coach on the following day." In vain were any suggestions opposed to these kind persuasions : and at 10 o'clock, we retired for the third night to the chambers of the chateau.

"The next morning at 7, we found both the general and his son in the drawing-room before us, with coffee upon the table, and his own coach at the door, in readiness to take us to Rose. In a few minutes more, a cordial grasp of the hand and the parting benediction of the patriarch, produced a state of feelings which, on our own part, admitted of few words ; and we left Lagrange with a full conviction, that if there is a paradise on earth, it must be found in the domestick, unsophisticated and innocent delights of such a family ; and if unalloyed happiness be the portion of any mortal, it must consist in the luxury of such feelings, and in the practice of such virtues, as are possessed by General Lafayette."

Such was the life that Lafayette led at Lagrange ; and such was Lagrange, as his industry, enterprise, and generous hospitalities, had made it. There the wanderers from America found a home, "without being permitted to feel that they were upon a foreign soil." His own countrymen, too, found there a heart to sympathize with them in their wrongs and sufferings, and a hand to relieve their distresses. Every Monday, there was baked at Lagrange, and distributed to the poor of the neighbourhood, two hundred pounds of bread ; and in times of scarcity, the weekly distribution was increased to six hundred pounds, to which was added a mess of soup, and a sol. in money, for each individual. The bread was of the same quality as that used at the general's own table. He visited himself those poor persons who were afflicted with sickness, and had them attended at his own expense, by his family physician. In the year 1817, when a severe famine prevailed, the destitute, not only of the vicinity of Lagrange, but of the neighbouring communes, were fed at the chateau, to the number of seven hundred daily. They received soup, bread and money, until the granaries and purse of Lafayette were exhausted. A family council was held in the month of June, to consider the means of continuing this bounty. It was found, that at the liberal rate of distribution, six weeks would exhaust all the supplies at the chateau. "Well," exclaimed Lafayette, "there is a very simple mode of obviating this difficulty : by retiring to Chevaniac, we may leave to the poor what we should have consumed by remaining at Lagrange." The whole family at once acquiesced in this proposition,

and it was put in execution ; leaving the whole resources of Lagrange to be distributed by the steward, for the relief of the wants of the suffering people.

Lafayette was soon called from the shades of Lagrange, to mingle again in the turmoil of publick affairs. To him the French nation looked, to check the current of returning abuses in the government. At the age of seventy years, when men usually retire from the active duties of life, or are consigned to inactivity by the infirmities of age, or the publick indifference, Lafayette was vigorously alive to the interests of his country, and in the full meridian of his popularity. As a member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1828 and 1829, Lafayette, in various propositions, and many eloquent and able speeches, resisted the encroachments of power, and advocated those measure of popular reform which he had previously urged in vain. He again brought forward a proposition for reorganizing the national guards. He endeavoured to modify the criminal code, and urged the abolition of capital punishment, "which," he said, "the fallacy of human judgement renders so frightful, and which ought especially to excite horrour in the present generation, amidst whom party fury has inflicted such irreparable wounds." He resisted the project of double votes, based upon the amount of property possessed by the elector, and advocated the right of suffrage upon the basis of equality, irrespective of property qualification. In his speech upon this subject, July 6, 1829, he said :

" We must, it has been said, support persons of large property, (that is to say, support the strongest,) because it is alleged they are most interested in good legislation. In the first place, gentlemen, I deny the principle. It is in fact, in an inverse ratio to its extent, that property is interested in good government. Indeed, the land owner with a revenue of one hundred thousand francs, reduced to fifty thousand, is less to be pitied than one of one thousand francs who might be reduced to five hundred, and still less than the small proprietor, whom bad measures of government might reduce to the condition of a serf. I say nothing of the property of our persons, though none of us, I presume, are so humble as not to value it a little above zero.

" But why is there now any question of property, when it is required that the deputies should pay 1000 francs and the electors 300 francs of direct taxation, making their incomes above the average of landed property in France ? No, gentlemen, it is in favour of privilege that privilege has been created."

Lafayette also warmly advocated a system of publick in-

struction, and gave by his exertion in that glorious cause, an impulse which has been since successfully followed up by Cousin, Gizot, and other eminent French statesmen and philanthropists. In advocating an appropriation for that purpose, he said :

“ National education, gentlemen, and above all, elementary education, that great spring of publick intelligence, moral conduct, and popular tranquillity, is now the principal want of the French people, as it is the principal debt government owes to them. You know, gentlemen, how that debt is acquitted. Systems of publick instruction have hitherto been patronised in an inverse ratio to their merit. Neither your pitiable fifty thousand francs, nor even five hundred thousand francs will suffice to fulfil that great social duty. For the support of a good and honest system of publick education, it appears to me that five millions would be the most praise-worthy item in the budget.”

At the close of the session of 1829, Lafayette paid a visit to Chevaniac, the place of his birth, which he had not visited since the voluntary exile of himself and family to it, in 1817, that the suffering poor of the neighbourhood might forage upon the resources of Lagrange. During the whole progress of his journey, going and returning, he was received with enthusiasm by the people. In the many towns and provinces through which he passed, his course was one of popular festival and triumph, similar to that which he had experienced in his last visit through the United States. His reception at Lyons, was more particularly enthusiastick and imposing. The inhabitants flocked in immense crowds to meet him on his approach to the city. He was addressed in their behalf by a popular orator. In an open *caleche*, drawn by four superb horses, accompanied by a numerous procession, he entered the city.

“ An immense multitude (says Sarran) which cannot be computed at less than sixty thousand persons filled the quays, the streets and courts of the city. Scarcely could the procession force its way through the close ranks of the populace, while the air resounded on all sides with cries of *Vive Lafayette!* cries that were re-echoed from all the windows. The ladies also took part in the publick joy: great numbers elegantly dressed occupied carriages in the procession, or waved their handkerchiefs from the casements as the general passed. Similar acclamations and manifestations of joy accompanied him to the Hotel du Nord, where he alighted. There he showed himself in the balcony, to gratify the eagerness of the crowd, who immediately and quietly dispersed to allow the noble veteran the repose he so much needed.”

For three days these festivities continued. On the third day there was a publick dinner, at which M. Condere, a colleague of Lafayette in the Chamber of Deputies, gave as a toast:—"Other warriours have gained battles; others have made eloquent orations; but none have equalled him in the civick virtues." In reply, Lafayette adverted to the signs of the times; clearly anticipated the important events which were soon to follow, and pledged himself that the Chamber would, in the hour of danger, prove true to patriotism and to honour.

Declining numerous invitations, and avoiding similar scenes of popular triumph which had been preparing for him, much to the annoyance of the Court, Lafayette proceeded by the nearest route to Lagrange. The patriotick impulse which had been excited throughout his journey, however, was the precursor of the revolution of the three days of July. Charles X had become emboldened in power. The examples of his predecessors, and their fate, were lost upon him. He and his court were resolved to accomplish effectually the restoration of the ancient despotism. Scarcely had Lafayette arrived at Lagrange, when the unwelcome intelligence reached him of the overthrow of the popular Martignac ministry, which the liberal principles and firm character of the deputies of 1828 and 1829 had induced the king to establish. It was succeeded by what is known as the Polignac ministry, from its very organization repugnant to the people of France. The popular feelings were clearly indicated, through the medium of the press and other channels, and by the character of the deputies, soon after elected. In the speech of the king on the opening of the Chambers, these expressions of the popular will were denounced as the indications of revolt and sedition; and he added this bold declaration and threat:—"If culpable manœuvres (said he) should excite against my government obstacles opposed to my will, but which I cannot foresee, I shall find in my resolution the power to surmount them."

The Chamber replied with truth and boldness. "The intervention of the nation," said they, "renders a permanent concurrence of the political views of your government with the wishes of the people, an indispensable condition of the orderly progression of publick affairs. Sire, our loyalty, our devotion, oblige us to declare to you, that such concur-

rence does not exist. Your majesty's supreme wisdom must decide between those who misconstrue so calm, so faithful a nation, and us, who with profound conviction approach your majesty, to lay before you the grievances of a whole people."

This address was signed by Lafayette, and in all by two hundred and twenty-one deputies, a considerable majority of those present. It was immediately followed by a dissolution of the Chambers, and a series of measures on the part of the king and his cabinet, designed by fraud and force to control the elections; oppressive in their nature, and well calculated to add to the exasperation of the people. Nearly the whole of the one hundred and twenty-one contumacious deputies, however, were re-elected, and a great majority of the electoral colleges returned liberal delegates.

Exasperated by this result, the king put forth, on the 26th of July, 1830, a series of despotic ordinances. The first of these, in violation of the national representation, pronounced the dissolution of the Chamber, before it had convened, and when on the point of convening; the second annulled the electoral laws then existing, reduced the number of deputies from four hundred and thirty to two hundred and fifty-eight, left the *arrondissement* colleges only the right of presenting candidates, abolished the secrecy of votes, the intervention of the third estate, and the jurisdiction of the royal courts in matters of election; the third convoked the new colleges for the 6th and 18th of September, and the Chambers for the 28th of the same month; and the fourth ordinance abrogated the laws which guarantied the liberty of the press, and restored the provisions of that of 1814, by virtue of which no periodical journal could be published without previously being authorised by the government, and decreed, that the presses and type of the journals convicted of disobedience, should be seized, or rendered unserviceable.

Lafayette received at Lagrange, on the morning of the 27th, a copy of the decrees of the 26th July. He immediately set out, post-haste, and arrived on the evening of the same day in Paris. In the mean time, insurrectionary movements had commenced, and that vast metropolis was in fearful commotion. On the promulgation of the decrees, the conductors and writers of the liberal journals, with several of their distinguished legal friends, held a meeting, and adopted an energetick protest. This protest was printed, and

widely disseminated among the people. It produced an electrical effect upon the whole population :

“ From this moment, (says Sarran) publick opinion underwent a change : anger and indignation succeeded to surprise ; the interests most immediately attacked burst into explosion ; the operative printers presented themselves under arms with incredible audacity ; the students of the Polytechnic school threw themselves heroically at the head of the insurgent citizens ; those of the schools of law and medicine followed the example, and the capital was in revolt. All was then agitation, all rushing onwards in insurrection. A magnificent defence was arranged in a few hours ; the soldiers of despotism presented themselves on the field of battle against the publick liberty ; the combat was commenced amidst cries of *Vive la Charte ! Vive la Liberte !* blood flowed ; all hope of conciliation was destroyed, and victory must decide between liberty and despotism.”

The deputies then in Paris met on the 26th and 27th. They hesitated what course to pursue. A majority of them were of opinion that Charles X had no legal authority to dissolve the Chamber, in anticipation of its meeting ; and that the other decrees were equally tyrannical and illegal. Few of them, however, had the moral courage to take a prompt and decided stand with the people, who were arming for resistance, and at those meetings, nothing definite was determined upon.

Lafayette announced at once on his arrival, his intention to espouse the cause of the patriots. The insurrection from that time assumed an aspect of unity and determination. The name of Lafayette was a tower of strength, an incentive to order, and a presage of triumph. There had been skirmishing on the evening of the 27th, between the people and the royal troops ; and a number of young men, attracted to the Luxembourg by the meeting of deputies, were surrounded and sabred by two detachments of cavalry. At four o'clock on the morning of the 28th, a deputation from the students of the Polytechnic School met at the house of Lafayette ; from thence they went out to fight at the head of the people in every quarter of the capital. Amidst the sound of the tocsin, the thunder of cannon, and the discharge of musketry, which announced that the people were aroused, the representatives of France once more assembled. Lafayette was first at the meeting. He was saluted with loud acclamations by the surrounding and anxious crowd. The contest continued. The royalist troops slaughtered alike the armed and the unarmed. Twice had the Hotel de

Ville been carried by the patriots, and retaken by the royalist forces. The contest was doubtful. The deputies still hesitated. A protest, tame and inefficient, and a commission to obtain a truce, were proposed. Lafayette was for ordering Marmont, the commandant of the royal forces, in the name of the law, and on his own personal responsibility, to cause the firing to cease. He believed that the deputies ought at once to espouse the cause and direct the energies of the people. Indignant at the delays, while blood was so profusely flowing, Lafayette declared to his colleagues his determination to act in accordance with those views, and, with or without their concurrence, to redeem the pledge he had given to the people. Meanwhile the patriots, after a desperate struggle, had again carried the Hotel de Ville; the Swiss and other guards had retreated before them, and the second day, (July 28,) closed with the promise of victory. Courage began to warm the hearts of the deputies. A few of them, with Lafayette at their head, resolved to raise the tri-coloured standard, and at 12 o'clock adjourned to meet the next morning at 5, at the house of M. Lafitte, the banker.

The night from the 28th to the 29th of July, was passed throughout Paris in busy preparation for the decisive contest that was to follow. From the meeting of the deputies, Lafayette went forth to inspect the barricades, and the defensive measures which the people were adopting. He was recognized by the patriots, and his presence and approbation created the greatest enthusiasm. After traversing several streets and encountering many dangers, Lafayette, the next morning, reached the house of M. Lafitte, where the delegates were to assemble.

The conflict was renewed at daybreak. Some of the leading patriots, feeling the want of official sanction, which they had looked for in vain from the deputies, had given out that a provisional government was formed, composed of Lafayette, Gerard, and Chasseul, which held its session at the Hotel de Ville. This device operated like magick. The name of Lafayette inspired confidence. Entire companies of the national guards reappeared in uniform, under arms. Prodigies of valour were performed by the people. The palaces of the Louvre and the Tuilleries were carried. Several battalions, and two entire regiments of the royalist troops, either joined the people or retired from the conflict.

At this crisis, the deputies, assembled at M. Lafitte's, inspired with a portion of the general enthusiasm, yielded to the solicitations of numerous citizens from the *Hôtel de Ville*, for the organization of a provisional government. Lafayette, on the call of the people, and with his consent, was appointed to the command of all the military forces. Gen. Gerard immediately volunteered to serve under the orders of Lafayette, and the direction of active operations was confided to him. Civil commissioners were also appointed, to take charge of general affairs.

Lafayette repaired at once to the *Hôtel de Ville*. He was conveyed in triumph by crowds of citizens, and saluted on the way by men, women, and children, with shouts of joy, as their friend and deliverer. Arrived at the *Hôtel de Ville*, he caused the tri-coloured flag to be raised upon the tower of that ancient edifice, again consecrated to liberty, and published the following proclamation :

“ My dear fellow-citizens and brave comrades,

“ The confidence of the people of Paris once more calls me to the command of the popular force. I have accepted with devotion and joy the powers that have been confided to me, and, as in 1789, I feel myself strong in the approbation of my honourable colleagues, this day assembled in Paris. I shall make no profession of my faith, my sentiments are well known. The conduct of the Parisian population, in these last days of trial, has made me more than ever proud of being their leader.

“ Liberty shall triumph, or we will perish together !

“ Vive la Liberte ! Vive la Patrie !

“ LAFAYETTE.”

Lafayette also addressed the following proclamation to the army :

“ BRAVE SOLDIERS,

“ The inhabitants of Paris do not hold you responsible for the orders which have been given you ; come over to us, we will receive you as brothers ; come and range yourselves under the orders of that brave general who has shed his blood for the defence of the country under so many various circumstances, General Gerard. The cause of the army could not be long separated from the cause of the nation and of liberty. Is not its glory our dearest patrimony ? Neither can we ever forget that the defence of our independence and our liberty is our first duty as citizens. Let us then be friends because our interests and our rights are in common. General Lafayette declares in the name of the whole population of Paris, that it cherishes no sentiment either of hatred or hostility against the French soldiers : it is ready to fraternize with all those who will return to the cause of the country and of liberty ; and it ardently invokes the moment when citizens and sol-

diers, united under the same banner, and in the same sentiments, may at length realize the happiness and glorious destinies of our fine country. *Vive la France !*

“GENERAL LAFAYETTE.”

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## CHAPTER XXXI.

Result of the “Glorious Three Days”—Lafayette, in behalf of the people and the deputies, declares the throne vacant—Refuses the executive power—Consents to the appointment of the Duke of Orleans as Lieutenant-General—Meeting of Lafayette and the Lieutenant-General, at the Hotel de Ville—Guarantees in favour of liberty—The Duke made King, with the title of Louis Philippe—Lafayette appointed commander-in-chief of the national guards—Presentation of the colours—Trial of the Polignac ministers—Lafayette suppresses the popular commotion—Is the victim of envy and intrigue—Resigns his commission—Continues his services as a deputy—Opposes a retrograde policy—Benevolent acts, during the cholera—Age threatens its infirmities—The duel of Dulong and Bugeaud—Lafayette attends the funeral of Dulong—The cause of his illness—Progress of his disease—His death—Funeral honours and obsequies—The Tomb of Lafayette.

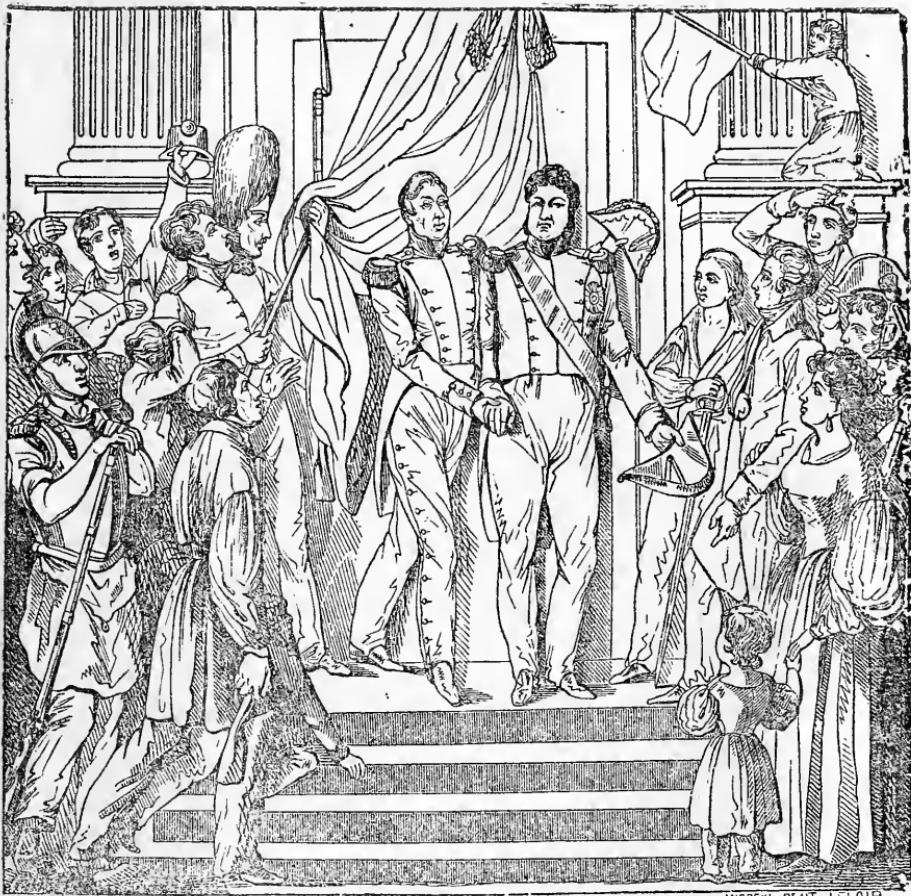
THE glorious THREE DAYS were ended. The victory was complete. Although the people had fought with desperation, the utmost order was observed. They walked in triumph through the palaces of royalty, and not an article was despoiled. The prisoners and the wounded were treated by them with the greatest humanity. What a contrast to the Reign of Terroir ! The loss of the patriots in the conflict was stated at 6000 men ; 1000 or 1200 killed, the remainder wounded. That of the royalist troops was not ascertained ; but from the forbearance shown by the people, in the moments of victory, their loss probably was not greater.

The next day, Charles X sent commissioners to the Hotel de Ville, to make concessions, and announce the recal of the offensive ordinances. Lafayette answered, in the name of his colleagues, and of the people, that it was “too late,” that conciliation was impossible, and that the royal family had ceased to reign.

There was a strong feeling at the Hotel de Ville, among those who had been foremost in accomplishing the revolution, in favour of a republick, with Lafayette as its President. It was in the power of Lafayette to have made

himself the head of the new government, whether the form of it had been republican or monarchical. He gave to the world new proofs of the disinterestedness of his motives and character, by positively declining all suggestions of that nature. It was the wish of Lafayette, that no government of a permanent nature should be established, until the primary assemblies could be convoked to express the will of the nation. The Chamber of Deputies, however, elected the Duke of Orleans head of the provisional government, under the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. A deputation of the Chamber proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, to inform Lafayette of this decision of the deputies. The Duke of Orleans had espoused the constitutional cause during the former revolution. He had been proscribed by the Jacobins ; had taken refuge in Switzerland, and employed himself there as a teacher ; had thence joined the republican army, and served under an assumed name, until compelled by the jealousy of the terrorists to fly ; when, after travelling for a time in the north of Europe, he came to the United States and travelled through several states of the Union. No reverses, no persuasions, could induce him to take arms against his country ; and he remained abroad until after the fall of the Jacobins. Lafayette, therefore, had confidence in the liberal principles and integrity of character of the Duke of Orleans. The deputies, chosen under peculiar circumstances, fresh from the people, constituted the only organs which then existed of the national will. He, therefore, deemed it his duty to acquiesce in their decision, although not in full conformity with his own views.

The Duke of Orleans having accepted of the appointment, repaired to the Hotel de Ville, to pay his respects to Lafayette and the civil commissioners, and to take upon himself the duties of his office, in the presence of the people. He was accompanied by the deputies, and escorted by some citizens and national guards. Lafayette, surrounded by the municipal commission, and by the pupils of the Polytechnic school, who had immortalized themselves during the glorious three days, advanced to meet the prince, and they embraced each other with cordiality. But the popular preference was not yet reconciled. Amidst the cries of *Vive le Duc d'Orleans*, were heard those of *Vive la Liberte ! Vive Lafayette !* One of the deputies read the decree of



J. CLOQUET.

ANDREW. B. ST. JELD. F.

MEETING OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS (NOW LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF FRANCE)  
WITH LAFAYETTE, AT THE HOTEL DE VILLE.



appointment, and addressed the assemblage. The duke then spoke, and enumerated the guaranties which were to be granted for the liberties of the people. When the duke had concluded, Lafayette cordially grasped his hand, presented him the tri-coloured flag, and led him to a window, where the prince waved the flag, and the multitude, greeting this emblem of liberty with enthusiasm, shouted *Vive le Duc d'Orleans ! Vive Lafayette !*

In a subsequent conversation with Lafayette, the Lieutenant-General promised all, for liberal principles, which Lafayette deemed the circumstances to warrant or require. "You know," observed Lafayette, "that I am a republican, and that I consider the constitution of the United States as the most perfect system that has ever existed." "I think so too," replied the duke; "it is impossible to have lived two years in America without being of that opinion; but do you think, in the situation in which France stands, and in the present state of publick opinion, we can venture to adopt it here?" "No," answered Lafayette; "what the French people want at the present juncture, is a popular throne, surrounded by republican institutions." "That," rejoined the duke, "is just what I think."

Being requested by the Lieut. General to retain his command of the national guards of the kingdom, Lafayette consented to do so, provisionally; and announced that consent, in a general order, as follows :

"Amidst the powers created by the necessities of our situation, the re-organization of the national guards is a measure of defence and publick order demanded on all sides. It is the opinion (and I feel that it is complimentary to me) of the Prince who executes the high functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, that I ought for the present to take the command of the national guard. I refused to do so in 1790, when solicited by 3,000,000 of my comrades, because the office would have been permanent and might one day have become dangerous. Now circumstances are different and I believe it to be my duty, in order to secure liberty and my country, to accept the office of commandant general of the national guards of France."

A few days thereafter, a new constitutional charter was framed and adopted; and, to put an end to the intrigues of those who feared a republick, or desired the return of the deposed family, the Duke of Orleans was declared king of the French, under the simplified title of Louis Philippe, the Citizen King.

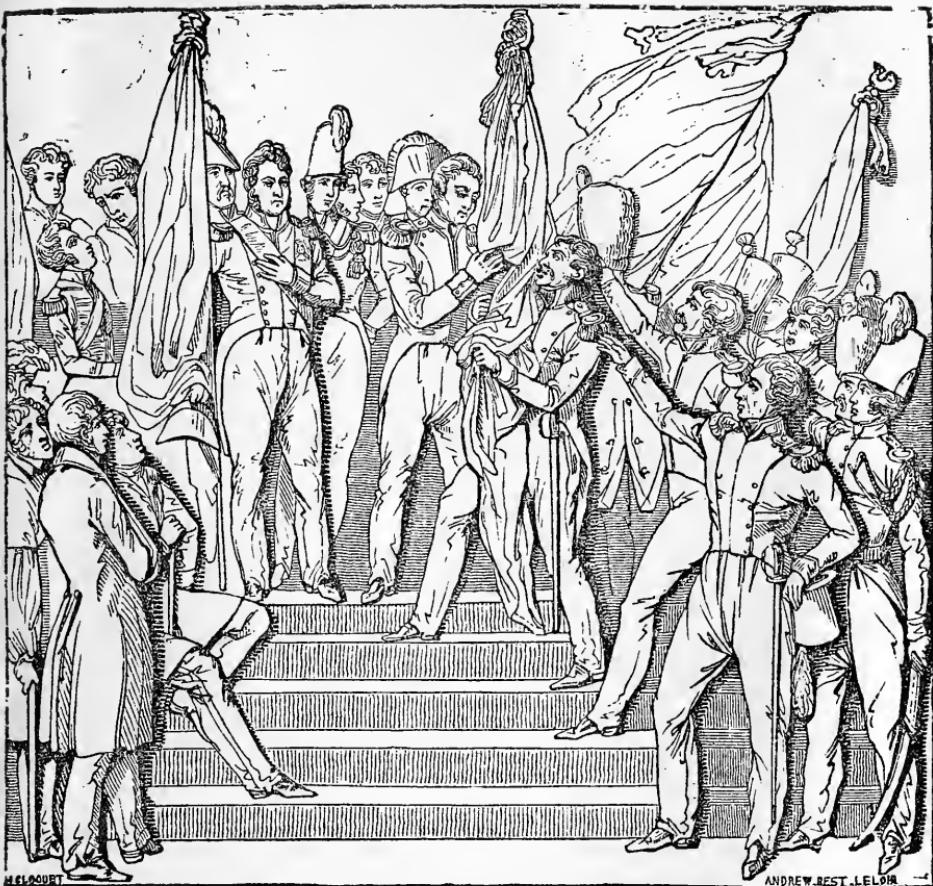
At the name of Lafayette, the national guards rose up and organized as by enchantment, throughout the kingdom. His whole time was assiduously devoted to establishing this favourite national armament, which he conceived to be the guarantee of liberty, upon the most republican basis. Deputations from the national guards of the departments incessantly flocked to his quarters, to render their respects and to solicit arms. Through his exertions, and by the influence of his name and example, order and confidence were restored throughout France.

A grand review of the national guards at Paris, took place on the 29th of August. Sixty thousand guards, perfectly armed and equipped, paraded in the Champ-de-Mars, surrounded by 300,000 spectators, presented a spectacle as imposing as that of the federation of 1790. The citizen king, surrounded by a brilliant staff, and a numerous suite of general officers, appeared for the purpose of presenting standards to this imposing host of citizen soldiers. The deputations of the battalions advanced to receive the standards, and the king addressed them as follows :

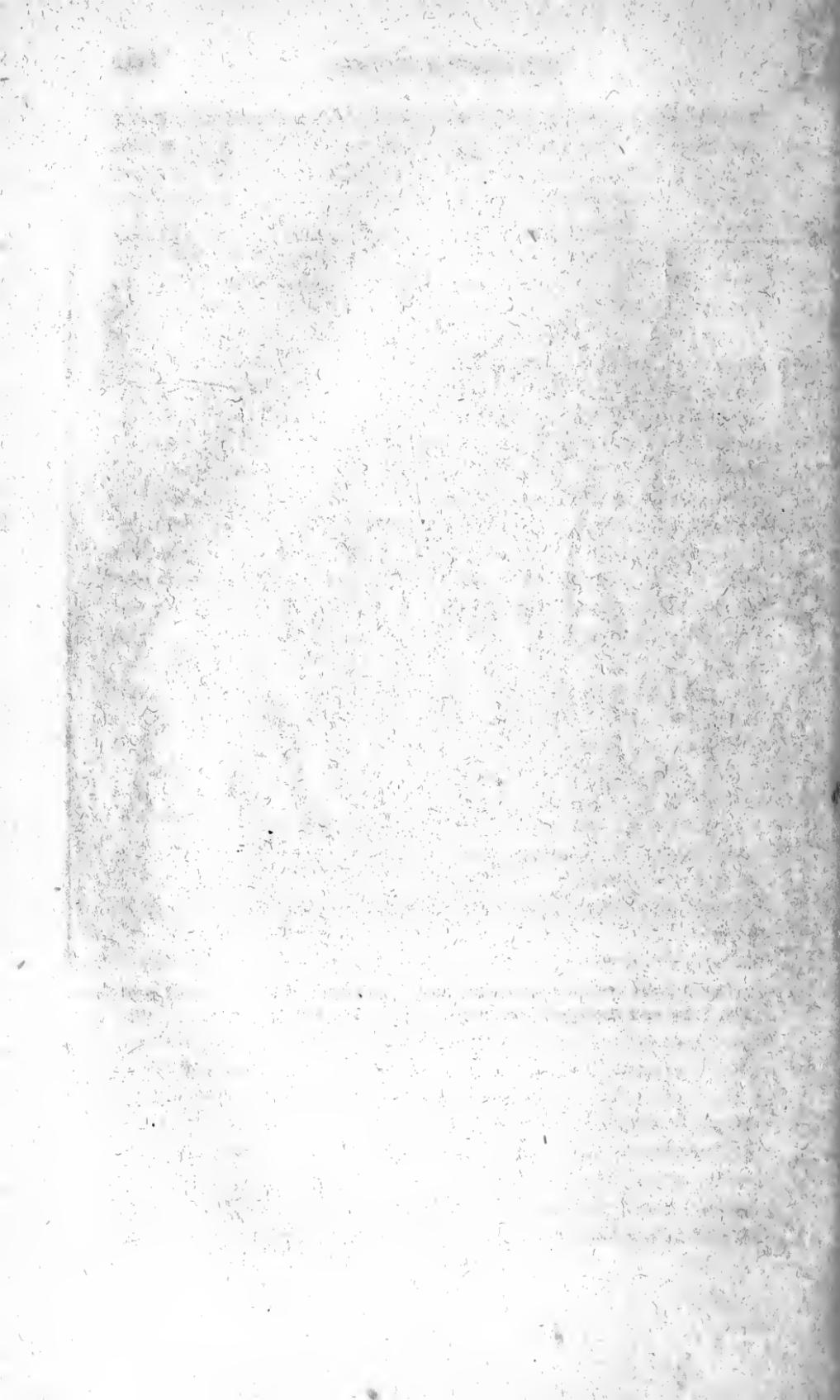
" **MY COMRADES**—It is with the highest gratification that I confide to you these standards, and with the most lively satisfaction that I place them in the hands of one, who, forty years since, was at the head of your fathers, in this very enclosure. These colours have marked the dawn of liberty among us; and the sight of them reminds me of my early campaigns. May these standards be the symbols of victory against the enemies of the state; may they prove, at home, the safeguards of publick order and of liberty; may these glorious colours, confided to your patriotism and your loyalty, prove, to the last, our rallying signal. France for ever!"

Lafayette received the flags from the hands of the king, and, pronouncing the formula of the oath, presented them to the officers who had advanced to receive them in behalf of the battalions. " This," exclaimed Louis Philippe, " is dearer to me than a coronation at Rheims!" And the discharges of artillery mingled with the acclamations of the national guards and the citizens, and the shouts of *Vive le roi! Vive Lafayette!*

The ministers of Charles X, Polignac and his associates, who instigated the orders of July, and caused so much blood to flow, were about to be brought to trial. Popular feeling was inveterate against them, and demanded the sentence of death. Strong indications existed of tumult, and an inten-



LAFAYETTE RECEIVING AND DISTRIBUTING THE STANDARDS, PRESENTED BY THE KING  
TO THE NATIONAL GUARDS OF PARIS, AUGUST 29, 1830.



tion of the populace to anticipate the infliction of that awful punishment which they demanded, upon the culprit ministers. Lafayette considered the ministers less guilty than the dethroned monarch, who had been permitted to leave the kingdom. He was opposed to capital punishment in any case, and again advocated, in the Chamber of Deputies, its abolition. He was intensely anxious, also, to preserve the glorious revolution of July, unsullied by any excess, or acts of cruelty and injustice. Polignac, it is true had devoted Lafayette to death, as the instigator of the revolution ; but Lafayette sought only the noble revenge of preserving the life of his enemy. Apprehending scenes of violence, the king, the Chamber, and the municipal authorities, entrusted to Lafayette, as commandant of the national guards, the entire control of the military and police, and the adoption of such measures as he deemed necessary to preserve the publick peace. When cautioned by his friends of the dangers he encountered by undertaking these duties, and that his performance of them, and his efforts to protect the fallen ministers from violence and death, would destroy his popularity, he nobly replied, that "popularity, though the most precious of treasures, and the only one that is worthy of ambition, must, nevertheless, like all other treasures, be given up by every patriot when he thinks that the publick good, the justice of the case, and the national interests, demand the sacrifice." Again :—"True popularity," he said, "is not to be judged of by a complaisance in doing what will please the multitude ; but by the success with which we persuade the people that they ought not to do what is wrong, and the firmness with which, when necessary, we prevent them from doing wrong without losing any of their affection."

About the middle of December, 1830, the trial of the ex-ministers commenced. The insurgent populace assembled. The people had already attacked the great gate of the palace ; frantick shouts were heard within the tribunal of justice, and a new insurrection threatened to overthrow, by force and bloodshed, the government of the citizen king. Lafayette, accompanied only by his aids, went into the midst of the mob. He was received and listened to with respect, and quiet was for a time restored. New tumults, however, ensued, amidst cries of vengeance upon the ar-

raigned ministers. But the national guards, through the efforts of Lafayette, stood firm ; and the laws were triumphant. The ex-ministers, instead of being condemned to death, as the populace demanded, were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Even the national guards partook of the popular indignation at this result. Lafayette hastened to address them. Their rage was appeased. Polignac and his associates were conveyed in safety to the prison assigned to them, and quiet was restored.

A few days after these important services were rendered, (December 24) the Chamber, through the instigation of envy and intrigue, adopted a resolution for the total abolition of the post of commander-in-chief of the national guards. This, had it become a law, would have been a virtual dismissal of Lafayette, although at the same time the *honorary* command of the national guards was offered to be conferred upon him. Lafayette, on learning these proceedings, immediately tendered to the king his resignation. His majesty was, or professed to be, totally ignorant of the course that had been taken, and immediately replied to Lafayette as follows :

“ *My Dear General* : I have this moment received your letter, and am as much grieved as surprised at the resolution you have taken. I have not yet had time to *read the journals*. The council of ministers assembles at one o’clock : after that, I shall be at leisure—that is to say, between four and five. I hope to see you there, and to prevail on you to retract your determination.

“ Accept, my dear General, &c.

“ *LOUIS PHILIPPE.*”

The proposed interview took place. The king endeavoured to dissuade Lafayette from his purpose. Lafayette required certain assurances, before he would consent to remain in a station which implied his sanction to the policy of the government, that the principles of the revolution of July should be carried out. After deliberation, every concession was offered to Lafayette personally, but little was yielded in behalf of the people. Lafayette answered—“ For liberty every thing, for myself nothing ;” and persisted in his resignation. The king thus announced this determination, and his own regret, in a proclamation of December 26 :

“ *Brave National Guards ! my dear fellow countrymen !*

“ You will share my regret when you learn that General Lafayette has considered it his duty to tender his resignation. I flattered my-

self that I should see him longer at your head, animating your zeal by his example, and by the recollection of the great services which he has rendered to the cause of liberty. His retirement is the more sensibly felt by me, inasmuch as only a few days have elapsed since the worthy General took a glorious part in the maintenance of publick order, which you have so nobly and efficaciously protected during the late agitations. I have, however, the consolation of thinking, that I have neglected nothing to prevent what will be a subject of deep regret to the national guard, and a cause of real pain to myself.

“ LOUIS PHILIPPE.”

The President of the Council, in announcing Lafayette’s resignation to the Chamber of Deputies, said :—“ The illustrious chief of the national guards, who for a long time has intended to renew the course he pursued forty years ago, has resigned his functions in spite of our entreaties. It has been his wish to imitate, as far as lay in his power, the noble example of Washington. He has only done a little too soon, that which he designed to do sooner or later.”

The expressions of regret, were indeed universal. On the part of the king and court, they may have been hypocritical ; but on the part of the people, they were deepfelt and sincere. The national guards testified their feelings by resolving to present to Lafayette a grand monumental vase and sword. The vase, which was executed by the first artists, was completed about the time of Lafayette’s death, and presented to George Washington Lafayette, as the representative of his father.

Lafayette continued, after his resignation, to take an active interest in publick affairs, as a representative in the Chamber of Deputies. He was opposed to the policy of the *doctrinaries*, who favoured, or rather did not oppose, the views of the holy alliance. He advocated the principle of non-interference—that the people of every nation should be permitted to choose their form of government—and that France, in its diplomatick policy, ought to guaranty that privilege to the nations of Europe.

These views, and his rigid notions of a liberal internal policy, placed Lafayette in opposition to the cabinet of Louis Philippe. They secured to him also the confidence of the people, and the respect of all nations who valued, or were struggling for, liberty. The Belgians proposed to place him at the head of their government, which he respectfully declined ; and in Germany and Poland, the peo-

ple were aroused to contend for liberty, by the cries of *Vive Lafayette!*

In the most important debates of the Chamber, Lafayette bore a conspicuous part. He endeavoured to secure, in the measures both of internal and external policy, all the benefits promised to France by the revolution of July—"a popular throne, surrounded by republican institutions." Many of the pledges made on that occasion, had been forgotten or violated by Louis Philippe and his advisers; and against the natural tendency to retrograde, Lafayette opposed his voice and his influence. He was thus drawn into the vortex of politicks, and was identified with the liberal party. In the session of 1831, he thus explained his position and motives :

"Gentlemen, it is not usually for the purpose of parliamentary opposition that I ascend this tribune.

"However honourable these political struggles, I neither find in my situation nor my taste, motives for consecrating to them the seventy-fifth year of my life. But when I see, or believe I see, political institutions diverging from the direction which the revolution of July has given to France; or when I believe that we are made to descend from the elevation on which that revolution had seated us, I feel that it is my duty to express myself upon such circumstances, not with a petulance that I pity, nor with insinuations to which I have only been accustomed to ascribe their just value, but with frankness and sincerity."

It is unnecessary to our purpose, however, to specify or trace the progress of those questions which constituted the elements at that period of the local politicks of France. They added but few incidents of importance to the life of Lafayette, and are not requisite to illustrate his character. It is enough to say, that through the brief remnant of his days, he continued to advocate those enlarged and liberal principles, for which he had previously been distinguished, and laboured to engraft on the government of his native land those free institutions which here constitute the safeguards of the rights and privileges of an American citizen. How successfully he laboured is, perhaps, yet to be determined. The "Citizen King" still reigns in France; and the experiment from which Lafayette hoped so much would be eventually gained by the French people, has not been fully tested.

George Washington Lafayette was also a member of the

Chamber of Deputies, and in his political course followed the example of his illustrious father.

Lafayette now passed most of his time in Paris, where he had a house and domestick establishment. But amidst his arduous duties as a deputy, he found time for social intercourse, for hospitality, and numerous acts of charity and benevolence. He was a member of various literary and benevolent associations, and gave his especial patronage to those for the promotion of publick instruction. In his hospitable mansion in Paris, the resort of the most distinguished political, scientifick, and military men of the age, as well as of the gay and fashionable, the citizens of America found, as they did at the chateau of Lagrange, a most ready and cordial welcome.

When, in 1832, the cholera, that mysterious messenger of destruction, riding on the wings of the wind, was spreading its fearful ravages throughout Europe and America, Lafayette hastened to Lagrange—not for personal safety, but to render his assistance to those who were menaced or attacked by the disease. He took with him a skilful physician, a stock of medicine, flannel, linen, blankets, and all the requisite supplies, which were freely distributed, and his house was open to the inhabitants of Lagrange and the neighbouring villages. His son and daughters aided him in his benevolent exertions. They went together to the villages and houses of the sick—were in motion day and night, to assist and console the unfortunate patients, to whom they acted as nurse-tenders, and whom they were sometimes obliged to bury, when they fell victims to the disease. Their presence and example arrested the panick and flight of the peasants, and rescued hundreds from the grave. The expenses incurred by Lafayette on that occasion, were estimated by persons who had the opportunity of knowing, at 38,000 francs, or a little more than seven thousand dollars.

But age was performing its work of derangements upon the constitution of this great and good man, although his mental faculties remained in full vigour, and his physical powers abated little of their activity. On the 29th of January, 1834, a duel, which had a political origin, took place between two members of the Chamber of Deputies, M. Dulong and General Bugeaud. It terminated in the death of the

former. M. Dulong was a young and able member of the liberal party, and a friend of Lafayette and his family. Lafayette was deeply affected by the fate of his youthful friend, who had thus fallen a victim to a false code of honour and to infuriated party zeal. He visited M. Dulong in his last moments, and joined on foot the procession which followed him to his grave. He supported with difficulty the long walk of several hours, and immediately on his return was violently attacked with a disease to which he was predisposed, and which has its seat in the region of the kidneys. To the assiduity of the best medical skill, the disease had partially yielded. Lafayette was enabled to take the air occasionally in his carriage; and hopes were entertained, that if he did not recover completely, he might be enabled to live free from pain or inconvenience. On the 9th of May, he had ridden out as usual, to the country house of his granddaughter. A sudden thunderstorm arose; Lafayette was exposed in it to a cold northwest wind, and became wet with rain. From that time, the disease assumed a painful and a fatal character.

"On the 20th of May, (says Cloquet, one of the attendant physicians) about one o'clock in the morning, the gravity of the symptoms increased. Respiration, which for the last eight-and-forty hours had been much impeded, became still more difficult, and the danger of suffocation was more imminent. Drowsiness, delirium, and prostration of strength, became more decidedly pronounced, and at twenty minutes past four o'clock in the morning, Lafayette expired in our arms!"

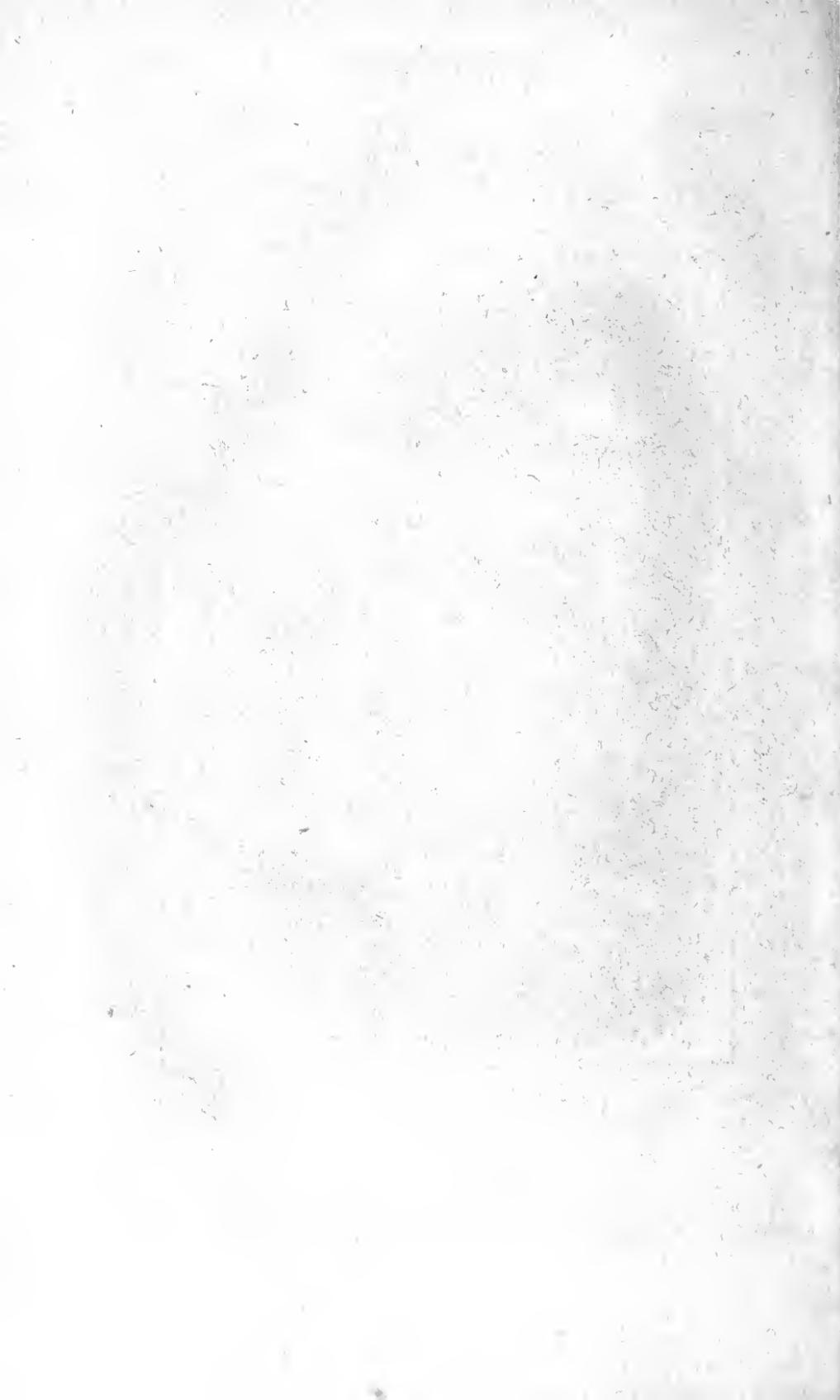
"A few moments before he breathed his last, Lafayette opened his eyes, and fixed them with a look of affection on his children, who surrounded his bed, as if to bless them, and bid them an eternal adieu. He pressed my hand convulsively, experienced a slight degree of contraction in the forehead and eyebrows, and drew in a deep and lengthened breath, which was immediately followed by a last sigh. His pulse, which had not lost its force, suddenly ceased to beat. A murmuring noise was still heard about the region of the heart. To produce reanimation, we employed stimulating frictions, but in vain; the general had ceased to exist. His countenance resumed a calm expression—that of peaceful slumber."

Such, his death-bed surrounded by his family and many of his most intimate friends, were the last moments of Lafayette—the great, the good man—the patriot and the philanthropist.

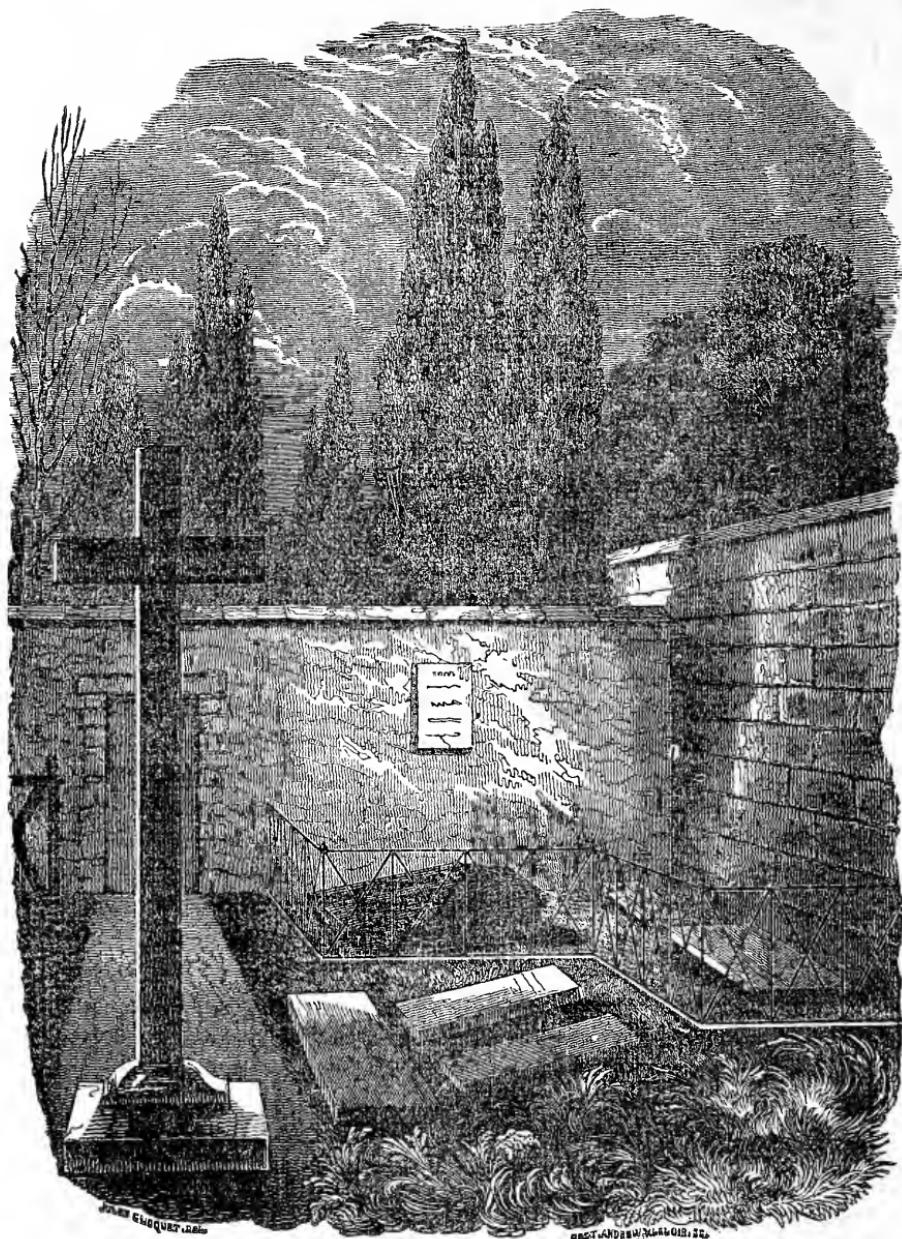
The funeral obsequies of Lafayette were attended by all the distinguished residents in Paris, including the members

DEATH OF LAFAYETTE.









TOMB OF LAFAYETTE.

of both legislative chambers, the academies, the civil and military administrators, the National Guards in full dress, with mourning scarfs on their arms, the American citizens then in Paris, &c. The common people, who had lost in Lafayette a powerful advocate and protector of their rights, and the poor, to whom he had been a friend and benefactor, were the most numerous, and not the least sincere, class of mourners. Among the pall-bearers, was the American Secretary of Legation, who represented America on the mournful occasion, in the absence of Mr. Livingston, the minister from the United States. When the numerous procession was on its way to the place of interment, a humble individual pressed eagerly forward, to place himself immediately behind the bier. "You see," said one of the guards, obstructing his passage, "that none but the family are admitted there." "We all belong to the family," said the poor man, "for he loved us all as his children." What could have been more true and more touching! The ranks were immediately opened, and this humble individual, the representative of the people in all countries, placed himself next to the bier and followed it to the cemetery. When the coffin, surmounted with tri-coloured standards, was deposited in the tomb, earth from America, mingled with that of France, was strewn upon it—an appropriate emblem of the common services which he rendered, and the lasting respect with which his memory will be cherished, in both countries.

The remains of Lafayette are deposited in the same tomb with those of Madame Lafayette, in the rue de Pictus, No. 15, at the extremity of the faubourg Saint Antoine, at Paris. It is at the end of a large garden, covered with fruit trees, shrubs and plants, and a long alley of lime trees, bordered with a hedge of elms, leads to the enclosure. The tomb is surrounded with an iron railing, is a little higher than the ground, and is composed of two large black marble tablets, slightly inclined, and forming a very oblique angle. Upon the angle is a small cross, the lateral branches of which extend on both sides of the monument, that covers the remains of both husband and wife. This unostentatious tomb, which encloses the remains of Lafayette, is continually visited by Frenchmen and strangers who knew and appreciated his worth, and by the pilgrims of liberty from all nations. And it will continue to be visited, while virtue is

respected, and the rights and liberties of mankind find a heart to cherish, or an arm to defend them.

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## CHAPTER XXXII.

The death of Lafayette creates deep sensations in America—Funeral honours and obsequies by the people—His death announced by President Jackson to Congress—The President's proclamation to the Army and Navy—Resolutions of Congress—Oration of the Hon. J. Q. Adams—Conclusion—Lafayette's person and habits—Summary view of his services and character.

THE news of Lafayette's death soon reached America. It was met with one deep and general expression of grief and veneration. Throughout the popular cities of the United States, where ten years before the people had rushed with eagerness together, to welcome with joy and festivity the “Nation's Guest,” they now attended in as great numbers, mournfully to join in the solemn obsequies, which attested alike the worth and services of the illustrious dead, and the grief and gratitude of the living. In the city of New York, where, on the 27th of June, the first funeral honours were paid to Lafayette, the ceremonies were solemn and imposing beyond precedent. The urn and eagle used on the occasion, were the same sacred emblems which had been exhibited at the funeral solemnities at the death of Washington. The urn was conveyed in an open carriage drawn by four white horses, guarded by the Lafayette guards, and followed by revolutionary pall-bearers, members of the Cincinnati Society, in open barouches. The procession was between two and three miles in length; the streets through which it passed were lined with a dense mass of citizens, and every house on the line was filled even to the roof with spectators. The funeral services took place in Castle Garden, where, ten years previous, lacking a few days, the brilliant fete was given to Lafayette which is noticed in page 305 of this volume. The proceedings ended in a solemn manner, by the return at night from Castle Garden of the hearse and urn, accompanied by the Lafayette guards, with torches burning, and playing the dead march.

What the whole American people felt individually on this

occasion, was soon embodied in an official form, by the executive and representatives of the nation. On the 21st of June, President Jackson communicated to both houses of Congress "the afflicting intelligence of the death of the illustrious Lafayette," which had been received by him that morning. He also issued the following general orders :

"WASHINGTON, June 21, 1834.

"Information having been received of the death of General Lafayette, the President considers it due to his own feelings, as well as to the character and services of that lamented man, to announce the event to the Army and Navy.

"Lafayette was a citizen of France, but he was the distinguished friend of the United States. In early life he embarked in that contest which secured freedom and independence to our country. His services and sacrifices constituted a part of our revolutionary history, and his memory will be second only to that of Washington in the hearts of the American people. In his own country, and in ours, he was the zealous and uniform friend and advocate of rational liberty. Consistent in his principles and conduct, he never, during a long life, committed an act, which exposed him to just accusation, or which will expose his memory to reproach. Living at a period of great excitement and of moral and political revolutions, engaged in many of the important events which fixed the attention of the world, and invited to guide the destinies of France at two of the most momentous eras of her history, his political integrity and personal disinterestedness have not been called in question. Happy in such a life, he has been happy in his death. He has been taken from the theatre of action, with faculties unimpaired, with a reputation unquestioned, and an object of veneration wherever civilization and the rights of man have extended; and mourning as we may and must his departure, let us rejoice that this associate of Washington has gone, as we humbly hope, to rejoin his illustrious commander, in the fulness of days and of honour. He came in his youth to defend our country. He came in the maturity of his age to witness her growth in all the elements of prosperity. And while witnessing these, he received those testimonials of national gratitude, which proved how strong was his hold upon the affections of the American People.

"One melancholy duty remains to be performed. The last Major-General of the revolutionary army has died. Himself a young and humble participator in the struggles of that period, the President feels called on, as well by personal as publick considerations, to direct that appropriate honours be paid to the memory of this distinguished Patriot and Soldier. He therefore orders that the same honours be rendered on this occasion at the different military and naval stations as were observed upon the decease of Washington, the Father of his Country, and his cotemporary in arms.

"In ordering this homage to be paid to the memory of one so eminent in the field, so wise in council, so endeared in private life, and so well and favourably known to both hemispheres, the President feels

assured, that he is anticipating the sentiments, not of the Army and Navy only, but of the whole American People.

“ANDREW JACKSON.”

On the motion of J. Q. Adams, a select joint committee was appointed, on whose report the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by Congress :

“*Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled,* That the two Houses have received with the profoundest sensibility, intelligence of the death of GENERAL LAFAYETTE, the friend of the United States, the friend of Washington, and the friend of Liberty.

“And be it further resolved, That the sacrifices and efforts of this illustrious person, in the cause of our country, during her struggle for independence, and the affectionate interest which he has at all times manifested for the success of her political institutions, claim from the government and people of the United States, an expression of condolence for his loss, veneration for his virtues, and gratitude for his services.

“And be it further resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to address, together with a copy of the above resolutions, a letter to George Washington Lafayette, and the other members of his family ; assuring them of the condolence of this whole nation in their irreparable bereavement.

“And be it further resolved, That the members of the two Houses of Congress will wear a badge of mourning for thirty days, and that it be recommended to the People of the United States to wear a similar badge for the same period.

“And be it further resolved, That the halls of the Houses be dressed in mourning for the residue of the session.

“And be it further resolved, That John Quincy Adams be requested to deliver an oration on the life and character of General Lafayette, before the two Houses of Congress at the next session.”

The oration of Mr. Adams was delivered on the 24th of December, in the hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, in the presence of both houses of Congress, the president and heads of department, the foreign ministers at the seat of government, and a large concourse of citizens. It comprised a brief epitome of the life of Lafayette, and was an eloquent and just tribute to his principles, his character and his publick services, both in France and America. Sixty thousand copies were ordered by Congress to be published ; and to its sentiments and feelings the whole nation responded.

To know something of the personal appearance and habits of a man who has rendered such important services to

mankind, and who fills so large a space in their affectionate remembrance, is a natural, and by no means a vain curiosity. In person Lafayette was tall, and well proportioned, inclining rather to corpulency. His head was large ; his face oval and regular ; his forehead high and smooth ; his eyes were large and prominent, of grayish blue, with well-arched, but not bushy, eye-brows ; his nose was aquiline ; his complexion clear ; his cheeks were slightly coloured ; and at the age of seventy-seven, the period of his death, his countenance, ever expressive of goodness and candour, was not furrowed by a single wrinkle. Though social and cheerful, and at times gay ; though hospitable and generous in the entertainment of his friends, he indulged sparingly in the pleasures of the table. His diet was simple, and he drank nothing but water. To his sobriety and temperance may be ascribed his exemption, to so late a period in life, from the infirmities of age. The dress of Lafayette was ever plain and simple, but he was to the close of his life, particularly neat in his person. He usually wore a long gray, or dark coloured over-coat, a round hat, pantaloons and gaiters, as he is represented in the portrait in the front of this volume, and which is pronounced by those who knew him, to be a faithful resemblance.

In private life, Lafayette was a model of the social and domestick virtues, as he was in publick of disinterested patriotism and unbending integrity. Lafayette was devoid of that ambition which seeks personal aggrandizement ; but he gloried in the acts he had performed for the liberty and happiness of mankind. He had his share of vanity, and exhibited in his speeches and correspondence, no little egotism : but Lafayette had espoused a great and glorious cause, the cause of liberty and justice, of "THE RIGHTS OF MAN" —and from that cause he was, and felt himself, inseparable. Faults he undoubtedly had—errours of judgement he may have committed ; but through a long and active career, his course was unsullied by a single vice, by a single act of meanness, cruelty, or injustice. He withstood the temptations of wealth, the allurements of power, and walked unscathed through the fiery furnace of revolution. We may search the pages of history, ancient and modern, without finding a character more pure, more perfect, more exalted.

The time may not have arrived when the services which

Lafayette rendered, and attempted to render, to France, can be appreciated by the French people, or by the world. He lived too soon, he died too soon, for the great work which he sought there to accomplish. But it will be consummated—and perhaps shortly. The revolution of July, 1830, in which Lafayette was the leading and the governing spirit, was altogether the most important, in its immediate and prospective consequences, of any political change that has taken place in France: and the influences of Lafayette's principles, his counsels and his examples, are now mingled with the elements, and are spreading silently through the political and social institutions, of the French nation. The death of Louis Philippe may produce further changes—changes which will prostrate the tottering remnants of hereditary power, and establish upon their ruins the rational liberties of the people.

But it is different with respect to America. Lafayette found here a soil congenial to his principles. The fruits of his services are here enjoyed, and may be known and appreciated by all mankind. It was not as a military champion alone, that Lafayette rendered essential aid to this country. He was diligent in every way, and in every capacity, wherein his influence, his ample fortune, or his personal energies, could benefit our cause. In a diplomatick capacity, as in a military, he was equally zealous, industrious and influential; and his example and exertions contributed essentially to secure the aid and alliance of France, without which, in all human probability, the independence of the United States would not have been secured. His correspondence, in behalf of America, and relative to its affairs, could it be all collected, would fill volumes. Indeed, the correspondence in which Lafayette was engaged, occupies nearly the tenth part of the diplomatick correspondence of that period which has been collected and published by Mr. Sparks.

An American writer ten years ago [North American Review, Oct. 1831] observed, that the connexion of Lafayette with its cause, is unquestionably to be esteemed as one of the most brilliant incidents in the history of this country. "Chivalry does not record a more beautiful example of heroism or principle; of personal gallantry; of enthusiasm for worthy objects; of youthful wisdom and conduct, uni-

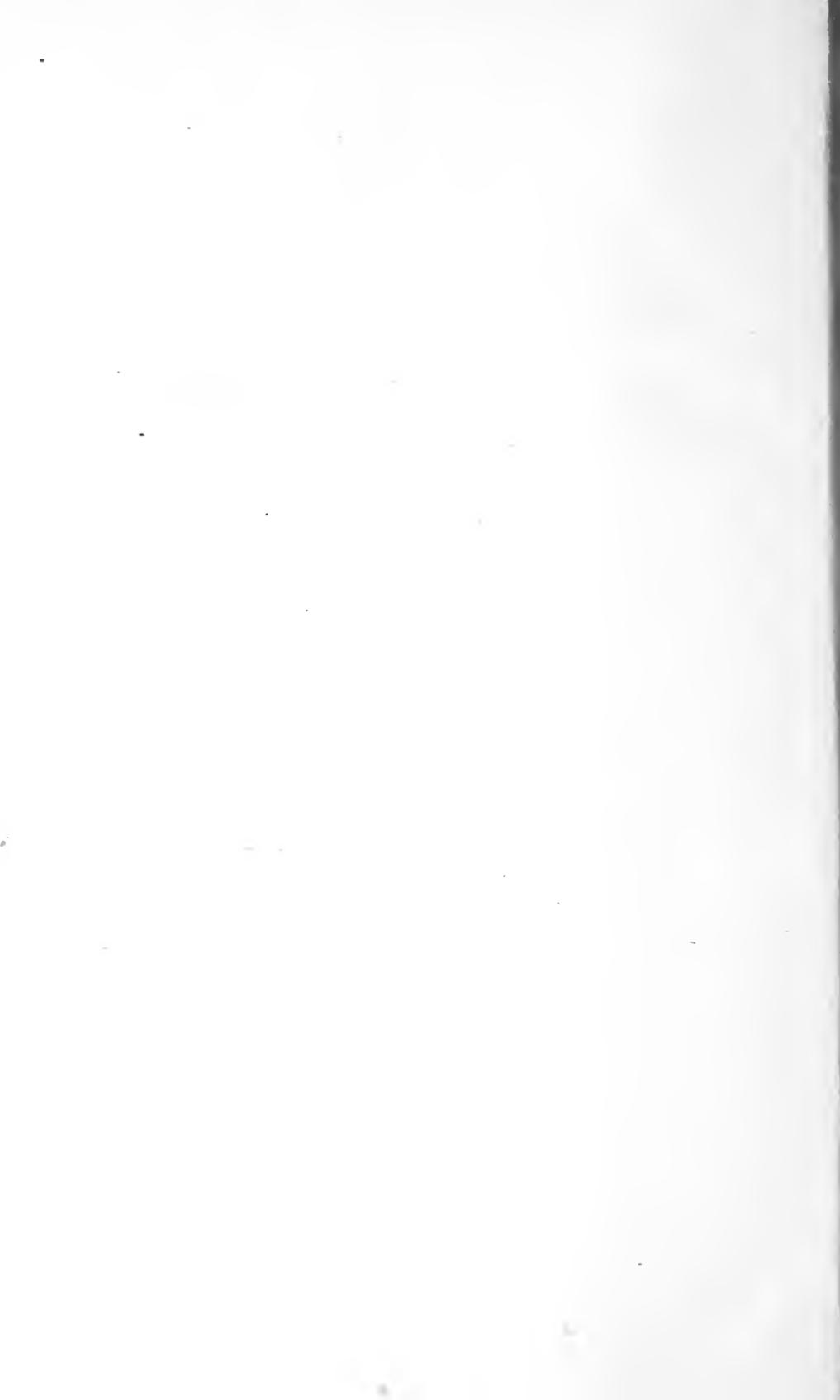
ted to all the factitious and external advantages, which so seldom adorn real merit ; but are so often accepted as its substitute, and so frequently choke its growth and exercise. \* \* \* \* The variety of the avocations which Lafayette assumed, the diligence of his correspondence, and the prudence and vigour of his conduct, when fairly illustrated, will exhibit to new advantage the character of this wonderful man. There have been those who deny him the name of *great*. Let them point out another individual of the age, who has borne the test of a career as long and services as various ; whose conduct has been as uniform, whose manners as pure, whose success as brilliant, and, we will add, whose glory is as bright as his."

The names of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, are immortalized by the sentence in which they pledge to the cause "*their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honours.*" Did not LAFAYETTE do this, and more ? Not in obedience to the ties of kindred and the obligations of country !—Not impelled by the sympathies which flow from a common language, from a community of interests, of education, habits and pursuits ! To him no selfish motive—no virtue of necessity, can be ascribed ! He was a foreigner, honourable by hereditary titles, rich in hereditary estates :—His kindred and connexions, his personal interests, present and prospective—all the social and political influences by which he was surrounded, were hostile and repulsive to the cause which he espoused. These were forsaken—all were pledged and hazarded, with life itself, in the support of that cause. And it is time that the great truth should be known and acknowledged by the American people, that no man risked more—few, if any, did more—to establish their liberties and independence, than LAFAYETTE. Is this position untenable ? Are these eulogiums too warm and highly wrought ? Gen. Washington, who was by no means an enthusiast, declared to Doctor Gorden, (1785) that "the noble, conspicuous and disinterested part" which LAFAYETTE had "acted on the American theatre, DESERVES ALL THE GRATITUDE WHICH THIS COUNTRY CAN RENDER HIM, AND ALL THE EULOGY THE PEN OF A FAITHFUL HISTORIAN CAN BESTOW."

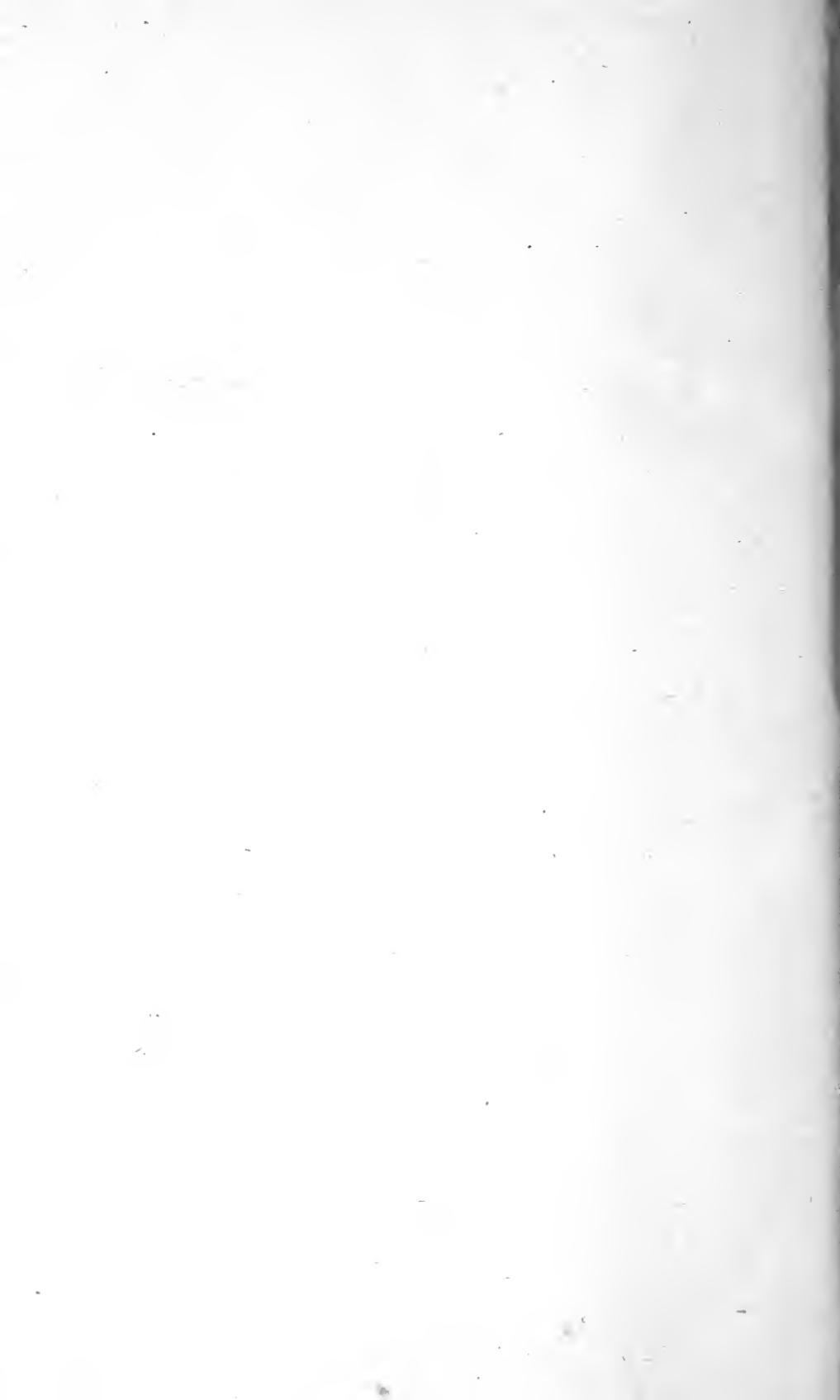
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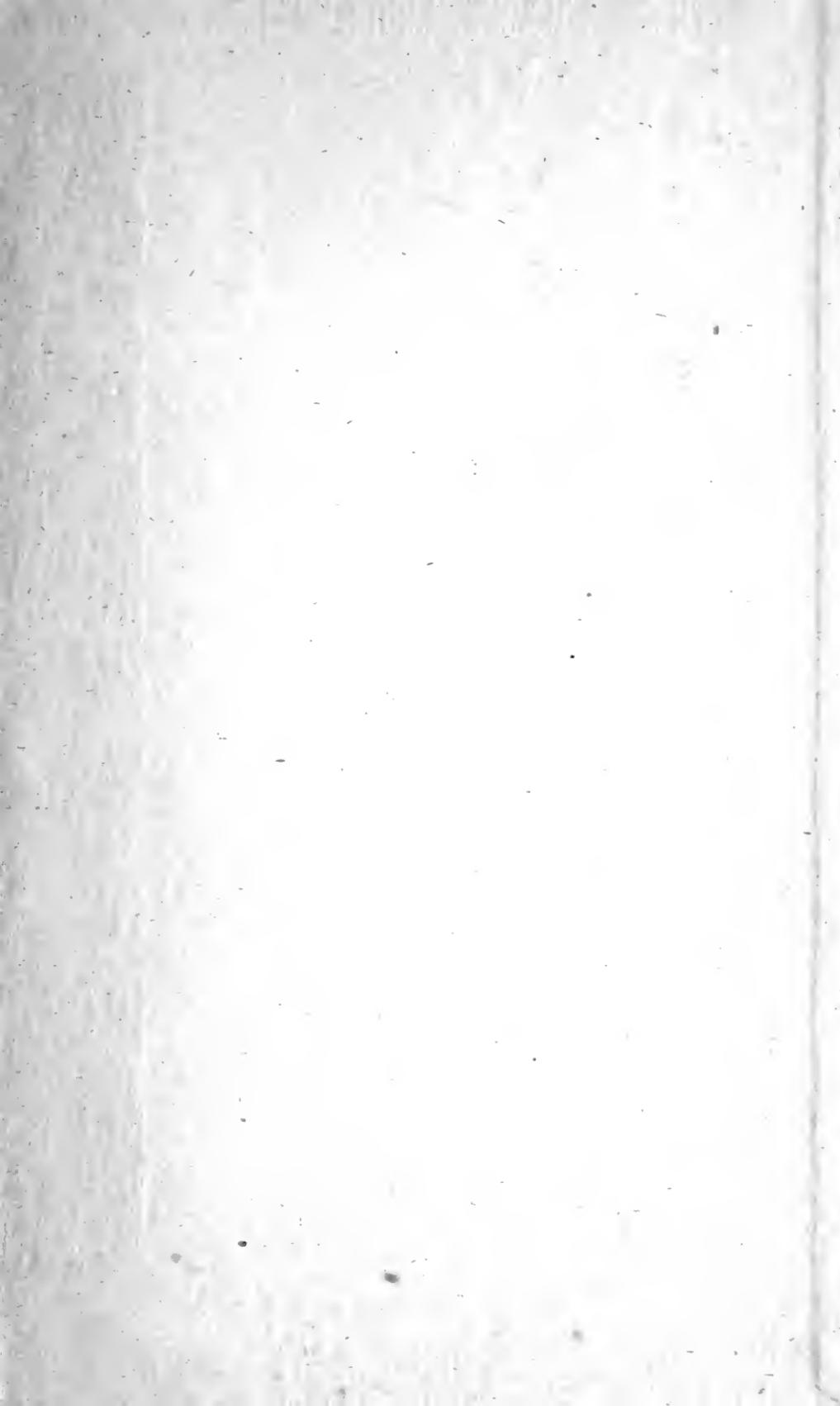












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